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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1900.

The Week.

The Republican platform adopted at Saratoga on September 5 is a formidable document. It is nearly as long as the Governor's annual message to the Legislature, and it deals with as many subjects. It is apologetic in tone, and is lamentably lacking in directness of thought and expression. In a literary point of view it is a failure. As a definition of political principles, it betrays the vagueness of men who are doubtful whether they have any. Their uncertainty is at once disclosed in the treatment of Imperialism. They first deny that there is any such sentiment in the United States, but say that, if there is any, it exists among the Democrats, because they deprive the negro of the ballot in the South. They say that the policy of the Republican party concedes to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands every measure of self-government consistent with the maintenance of American sovereignty. As there is no standard by which this concession to the Filipinos may be tested, this is saying that we give them as much self-government as is good for them, which is just what Spain said in respect to both Filipinos and Cubans.

There are only two or three topics of State policy in which the public just now take any interest. One of these is the Franchise Tax Law. This was the most meritorious act of the Roosevelt Administration. It was also the one which made Roosevelt's renomination as Governor impossible, in the eyes of the Republican machine politicians, because it prevented them from getting their usual supplies of cash. It was supposed until the last day that the Platform Committee would leave out the Franchise Tax entirely, but, when the delegates came together, it was found that public sentiment throughout the State was too strong to be ignored. There was a danger that if the subject were wholly omitted, some delegate would offer an independent resolution which might be dangerously strong, both in its terms and in its popularity in the Convention. So an insipid resolution was adopted at the last moment which declares that "the taxation of corporations enjoying the use of public property will continue to be, as it has been in the past, a policy of the Republican party." Everybody knows that the party, *i. e.*, the Platt machine, was bitterly opposed to the Franchise Tax Law, and supposed that it had killed it, and would have done so had not Gov. Roosevelt made it the subject of a message of urgency to the General Assembly just before the adjournment of the session of 1899. According to the newspapers, Mr. Platt's son was at Saratoga opposing any reference to the Franchise Tax in the platform.

Gov. Roosevelt let us into a precious secret last week by telling us how much he was indebted to Mr. Odell for help in securing useful legislation during his own term of office. Upon this subject he said:

> "First, as to our candidate for Governor. During my two years of service, Mr. Odell has been not merely my close and stanch friend, but my trusted helper and adviser in every crisis."

This puts Mr. Odell in an entirely new light. There have been three legislative crises, and three only, in Gov. Roosevelt's Administration. One of these was the passage of the Civil-Service Law which repealed Gov. Black's anti-starch bill. Another was the passage of the Franchise-Tax Law. A third was the struggle at Albany over the Ramapo bills proposed by the Merchants' Association. If Mr. Odell was the trusted helper and adviser of the Governor in these crises, the public have been greatly misinformed. Mr. Odell's services in behalf of civil-service reform have never been suspected before, and we think that Gov. Roosevelt owes it to the public, as well as to Mr. Odell himself, to give us a more particular account of them. His aid in securing the passage of the Franchise-Tax Bill has been equally concealed from the public eye. At the time when this bill was pending there were public hearings, both in the Legislature and before the Governor, in which men of prominence figured from day to day, but the name of Mr. Odell was not among them. The services of this trusted helper and adviser were strictly private. Here the Governor has the advantage over his critics, for he knows exactly how far he relied on Mr. Odell in this matter, and nobody can dispute him. We observe that he does not give us any particulars here, although he does tell us how Mr. Odell helped him in promoting the Ramapo legislation.

As to Ramapo, the Merchants' Association prepared two bills which were taken to Albany by its representatives with an urgent petition for their passage. One was a bill to repeal the charter of the Ramapo Company or to take away its extraordinary powers for condemning water-sheds—powers which ought never to have been committed to a private corporation. Another was to confer upon the city of New York similar powers of condemnation to those conferred on the Ramapo Company. Neither of these bills passed. The Merchants' Association found the words "No Thoroughfare" posted at the head of every road they attempted to follow, showing that the Ramapo Company was stronger at Albany than any force opposed to it. The conduct of the Governor himself was very puzzling to the Merchants' Association. They did not get the help which they expected from him. It turns out now that the Governor was consulting with Odell on the Ramapo question, and that Odell was his "trusted helper and adviser" in this matter, if in no other. And what was Odell's contribution to the assembled wisdom? A bill was passed which required the written approval of the City Comptroller to any contract between the city and a private company for additional water supplies. To this bill was added the following paragraph:

> "All proceedings relating to the making or approval of any such contract may be reviewed by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in the First or Second Department, on the application of any resident taxpayer."

This the Governor declares to be "the vital provision of the bill," and for this he says we are indebted to Mr. Odell. He thus enables us to estimate the value of Odell's services as an adviser in every crisis. What is implied by the power of the Supreme Court to review all proceedings relating to the making or approval of any such contract? Evidently it means the power to pass upon the regularity of the proceedings, not upon the expediency of the contract. If the proceedings have been regular, the court has nothing more to say. For this boon we are indebted to Odell. But we are indebted to Roosevelt for the information that he was consulting with Odell on this subject.

The returns from the Vermont election of September 7 show that the Republican vote this year varies but slightly from 48,000, while the Democratic is about 17,000, and the Republican plurality not far from 31,000. In other words, the Republican vote is almost the same as in the Septembers of 1880 and 1888, when the party, a few weeks later, carried the nation, while the Democratic is more than 2,000 short of what had been recorded in the three contests before 1896. On the other hand, the Democratic vote is considerably larger than it was four years ago. Apparently about half of the recalcitrant Democrats of 1896 now accept Bryanism, while the other half refuse to vote at all so long as the party clings to it, instead of supporting the Republican ticket, as they did four years ago. The moral is that the Republicans may carry the country for McKinley in November by hard work, but they can-

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not repeat the "scare" of 1896 and frighten a host of Democrats into supporting their candidate. Bryanism is still so odious that the more independent-minded men who also oppose McKinleyism are content to let the Republicans beat it once more, though they do not expect or desire that the Administration shall be endorsed by any such phenomenal Republican majorities as were rolled up four years ago.

The result of the Maine election justifies the indications of the canvass. That developed nothing like the interest or enthusiasm on the Republican side which existed four years ago, and it was correspondingly hard to get voters to the polls. On the other hand, while the Democratic machine was in much better running order than four years ago, and lists could be printed of prominent Democrats who had returned to the fold, it was clear enough before election day that a large number of life-long Democrats would not support the party so long as Bryanism stands for Democracy. The real moral of the result in Maine, as in Vermont, therefore, appears to be that whether the financial question be the "immediate" one, as McKinley puts it, or Imperialism the "paramount" one, as his rival claims, the real issue with the masses of voters is what all recognize as Bryanism. While that stands for Democracy, many partisans who believed in the principles of Tilden and Cleveland will stay away from the polls, while most Republicans, however much they dissent from McKinleyism, are ready to accept it as the only way in which they can escape what they detest still more. Enough returns have been received to show that the total votes cast on Monday last will not vary materially from 75,500 Republican and 42,000 Democratic. This would be a Republican plurality of 33,500, as against 48,377 in 1896, 12,522 in 1892, 18,048 in 1888, and 19,851 in 1884.

The charges of fraud in the Arkansas election of Monday week take a pretty definite form. The election machinery which was originally contrived for handling the negro vote has been operated this year, as in other years, against the white Republicans. Goebel is said to have taken the central idea of his Election Law for Kentucky from the Arkansas statute, omitting, however, some of the more drastic provisions of the latter law. There are seventy-five counties in the State, and the law provides that there shall be a board of three Election Commissioners appointed for each county by a State board composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney-General. These officers are always Democrats, and have run as candidates to succeed themselves, while having sole power of appointing the county boards of election judges. This year the Attorney-General was the Democratic candidate for Governor. The charges brought this year against the State board have been much the same as those which were made by Republicans in 1896. The law provides for one Republican member on each county board, but he is commonly regarded by the two Democratic members as a figurehead. In many of the precincts the county boards have ignored requests and nominations of Republicans in appointing judges of elections, and have appointed in their stead as Republican judges negroes unable to read or write. In other precincts no Republican has been found competent, in the minds of the Democratic members, to serve, and the precinct board has been made up entirely of Democrats. These conditions render a comparison of the election returns of this year with 1896 of little significance. The Republicans, however, with the same candidate in the field as in 1896, and a weaker man to oppose in the Democratic nominee, seem to have made distinct gains, especially in those white counties where they were able to secure a fair count.

Not the least among the ulterior results of the destructive Texas storm are those which bear on the cotton industry. The flood which not only wrecked most of the Galveston storehouses, but practically laid waste a good part of the farms of southern Texas, came at a most inopportune moment for the trade. The Manchester spinners had just made their agreement to hold off from buying until the new American cotton crop should be moving in quantity to market. The movement has begun later this summer than in many years. Last month's receipts of cotton at Galveston from the interior farms were less than one-fifth the receipts of August, 1899. The same conditions prevailing at nearly all other American ports, and warehouse supplies of cotton, here and abroad, having fallen to abnormally low figures, a very unusual opportunity was presented for speculators to engage in forestalling operations. This movement, checked by the decision of the English spinners, received most unexpected aid in the news from Texas. That State produces ordinarily more than one-fourth of the entire American cotton crop, and the new crop of the region was at its most critical stage when the storm of Saturday swept over it. There were 7,600 bales of cotton in the Galveston warehouses at last week's close, and 5,000 bales on shipboard in the harbor. Considering that the arrival of Texas cotton in market had been reckoned upon as the first means of breaking the speculative deadlock, the dismay into which the cotton-consuming community has been thrown by the Galveston news is not hard to understand. The best to be hoped for is that the area of damage to the crop will turn out to be less extensive than early estimates have indicated. Meantime we are glad to learn that New York cotton-market interests are taking ground against further operations in the direction of cornering the American supply.

Every impartial reader must have been struck by the dignity and good temper of the statement sent out by the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers on Saturday. Not only was there an entire absence of passionate and threatening language, but this Executive Board declined to heed the petition of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania who desired to strike at once. They postponed final action in order that the employers might have further opportunity to avert the strike, and in order to avoid the enormous loss and confusion which must fall upon the industries of the Atlantic seaboard States from an interruption of the coal supply. The principal grievance of the miners is that of insufficient pay for their work. "Wages of miners," says the Executive Board, "have not kept pace with the cost of living, and in some instances have been reduced; they have been required to deal in company stores and accept the services of the company's doctor; they have been required to accept wages based upon an antiquated sliding scale that invariably slides downward; they have had their wages reduced by an arbitrary and exorbitant system of dockage; they have been compelled to wait for their pay weeks after the time specified by law." All these grievances are susceptible of proof or disproof; and while it is not possible for even the most liberal and fair-minded employer to raise wages by his mere volition, it may sometimes be necessary for him to show to the satisfaction of the public why he cannot do so. When a great calamity is impending which involves the wellbeing of the whole community, every person who is concerned in producing it is put upon the defensive. All are bound to show that they have justice on their side, or at all events that they are powerless to avert the threatened danger. These considerations point to the need of some arbitration of the questions in dispute which shall satisfy the public mind. The Mine Workers' committee say that they have sought arbitration and that it has been refused.

The investigation by the Police Commissioners into the charges of brutality on the part of the police towards negroes during the recent race troubles on the West Side began on Friday, and was conducted in exactly the way that was to have been expected. The Tammany chairman who conducted the proceedings was arbitrary and overbearing in his attitude towards the colored man who was clubbed and kicked in a station-house; and the Tammany Chief of Police did his best to intimidate subordinates who might have testified to the

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facts. Altogether the performance was transformed from its nominal purpose to fix the responsibility for a shameful breach of duty, into a hardly concealed attempt to whitewash the New York Police Department, and hold up to ridicule anybody presumptuous enough to question its immaculate purity. Such a performance ought to shock and surprise the city, but the people are too much accustomed to this sort of thing at the hands of Tammany to get excited over it.

Washington dispatches indicate that the Administration is now inclining towards the policy of withdrawing from Pekin, let the other Powers go or stay. This is a veering of the weather-cock towards the right quarter. When the Russian note stated that "the purpose for which the various Governments have coöperated for the relief of the legations in Pekin *has been accomplished*," and that the next thing to do was to recall the troops, our Government replied effusively that it was in "accord" with "the frank declarations of Russia." It did, indeed, add something about "a general withdrawal" being desirable, and said that "we shall give instructions to the commander of the American forces in China to withdraw our troops," unless there developed "a general expression of the Powers in favor of continued occupation." This left us comfortably pointing north by south, and the needle has since swung between "No scuttle!" and "America stands alone!" We do not know what influences now move the President to press on evacuation. Be they partisan or patriotic, however, they are urging him in the direction of sound policy. Every day that we stay will make departure the harder and more improbable. It is said we must remain in Pekin to provide against remote contingencies. But in such matters, as Sir George Lewis said of the English occupation of Egypt, "Cure is better than prevention." As he warned English statesmen then, so may we now say to American, "By providing in advance against all possible evils, you saddle yourselves with unnecessary and crushing responsibilities, instead of leaving yourselves a free hand to meet each evil as it arises."

Criticism of the Kaiser is risky enough, and the German press reviews his sermons and orations under the shadow of a very palpable penalty for *Majestäts-beleidigung*. Under such circumstances, it is interesting to note how generally the more independent German editors have expressed disapproval of their sovereign as a homilist, and how insistently they have urged upon him the grace of silence. No subtler criticism of the Emperor as orator has appeared than that of the Liberal leader, Dr. Theodor Barth, in *Die Nation*. In view of the Kaiser's continued activity as an orator, the nation, says Dr. Barth, must assume a definite attitude towards its sovereign in that capacity. The doctrine of royal infallibility, he asserts, is defensible only through the interposition between monarch and people of a responsible Ministry, freely open to criticism. Any expression of opinion made otherwise than through the Ministry or without its prior consent is, on the Kaiser's part, extra-imperial, and merely personal. To such "heart-to-heart talks" the nation must, out of courtesy, lend a respectful and sympathetic hearing, with the reservation, however, of all rights of criticism and of dissent. In a word, Dr. Barth feels that the Kaiser, in his various speeches and sermons, puts off his awful and inviolable majesty, and becomes simply the frank and outspoken friend of the people. The analogy with the doctrine of papal infallibility is obvious. Leo XII. *qua* Pope can do no wrong, though as plain Signor Pecci he is liable to error, like the rest of us. Wilhelm II., with his Hohenzollern notions of the divine right of kings, will hardly relish this doctrine. It is to be hoped, however, that Dr. Barth's very amiable theory may not constitute cause for a prosecution for *lèse-majesté*.

Belgium had the best will in the world to get into the Chinese imbroglio; and with good right enough, for she had large commercial interests at stake, and, like the other Powers, a Minister in peril. It was natural, therefore, that she should set about raising a volunteer legion for service in China. The recruiting of this legion was complete, and the volunteers' last farewells to some thousands of Flemish maidens were in progress, when a diplomatic note from the German Minister for Foreign Affairs dashed all Belgian hopes of treading the path of glory in China. Herr von Bülow pointed out that the Powers really stood in no need of Belgian reinforcements, implying that Germany would do the Attila business handsomely herself, and that little neutralized Powers like Belgium had better keep out of the mess entirely. The Belgian Government broke the news somewhat tardily to the volunteers, which was most impolitic; for emotions keyed up to red war now find vent against an Administration which lacked the grace to let its heroes down easily, and the Ministry must answer the volunteers in Parliament. It is undoubtedly a sentimental hardship that a nation eager to bear the white man's burden should be snubbed in its dearest aspirations, but as the concert of the Powers more and more jangles out of tune, the feeling may grow among the concerted Powers, even, that Belgium is well out of it all.

The Boers go on showing a most inconsiderate disregard of Mr. Chamberlain's electoral plans. If they would only lay down their arms and promise to be good, he would have Parliament dissolved and a general election under way in a trice. But the art of graceful surrender seems to have died out of the world. Capital after capital of Boer, Filipino, and Chinaman has been taken, yet the obstinate beggars pay no attention to the rules of war or to the wishes of their conquerors. This is really an unneighborly course. How can you live at peace with people who keep on fighting after you have them thoroughly whipped? Especially how can elections be carried in a blaze of military glory if the "pacified" Philippines will insist upon fresh insurrections, and if the Transvaal burghers, beaten in one city, flee to another? There will have to be new rules of international law to the effect that when a victorious general asks his opponent to surrender unconditionally, so that the "party" may be helped to carry an election, the request may be refused only on peril of outlawry. In Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has to wait only to see if the crops are good before he dissolves and goes to the country. This, however, is simplicity itself compared with the labor of appealing to the electors on the strength of complete victory in South Africa or the Philippines, and then having that victory all the while flitting like a will-o'-the-wisp to the next mountain or morass.

The latest budget of "King Dick" (not an American boss, but the Hon. Richard Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand) shows a surplus of $2,500,000, the total receipts being estimated at $38,000,000. His exposition of the financial status of his commonwealth of less than a million souls shows that its practice of state socialism for the past seven years has neither ruined the country, as some predicted it would, nor yet brought on the millennium prematurely. Mr. Seddon himself does not now predict so many and such sweeping benefits from the programme of "practical socialism" as he did in 1893. If the laws for the protection of labor and the regulation of wages and the prevention of strikes have not frightened capital away from New Zealand nor killed industry, they have not, on the other hand, extinguished discontent among the working classes, or essentially changed human nature. Like most legislative panaceas, socialism by statute in New Zealand is found, after a period of years, to leave things very much as they were. It is always to be remembered, too, that experiments in a new state, with a scanty population and vast reserves of land, do not necessarily prove anything for older countries. One of the best fruits of New Zealand institutions is Prime Minister Seddon himself—a man who, from the lowliest origins, has risen by sheer force of ability to the head of the state—"King Dick," as he is affectionately called.

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MR. M'KINLEY ON THE DEFENSIVE.

The President, in his letter of acceptance, shows that he, too, considers Imperialism "the paramount issue of the campaign." Gov. Roosevelt contemptuously dismisses it as a bogey with which to frighten children; President McKinley devotes to it three-quarters of his long and labored letter. He is too shrewd a politician to write six and a half columns about an issue if it were really, as his leading supporters have gone up and down the land asserting, non-existent. Here, then, is one result of Bryan's bold and eloquent speech at Indianapolis. It has stung McKinley into a reply—that is, it has drawn him out of his intrenchments to give battle on the ground where his opponent prefers to fight. Whatever strategic advantage lies with the candidate who makes and forces the great issue, is tacitly accorded by the President in this campaign to his antagonist. Mr. McKinley begins his fight with an apologia which will dismay his most ardent followers by its enormous length.

Singling out only a few of the points in it which challenge comment, we must begin by sweeping away all that the President says about "duty." That word, in Mr. McKinley's mouth, all the world now knows to mean one of two things. He sometimes uses it of the thing he would like to do, provided it hurt nobody's feelings; sometimes of the thing he was compelled against his will to do. He gives us a handy glossary of his usage of the word in this very letter. His instructions to the Paris Commissioners were, he says, to the effect that our national "moral obligation" was, in settling the terms of peace with Spain, to avoid all "ambition of conquest." There was "duty." But how did the Commissioners understand it? One of them, Senator Frye, in a public speech in Philadelphia on March 18 last, said that he went to Paris determined on "taking all we could get." He added that when the Commissioners telegraphed to the President their ultimatum to the Spanish members, "he cabled back a reply that it was eminently satisfactory to him." It is a great help to the correct understanding of McKinleyese to have it thus certified that, in the President's vocabulary, "duty" means "taking all we could get."

Mr. McKinley affects an air of great frankness in citing from some official documents not hitherto published. He is going to "show to my countrymen what has been and is being done" in the Philippines. To this end he quotes from his instructions to the Peace Commissioners. When the Senate asked for these instructions, they were refused, on the ground that it would be "incompatible with the public interest" to make them public. Now, in party interest, they are unveiled—but in what form? Evidently in a garbled form. The marks of hiatus and omission are upon the face of the printed version. Why did not the President, professing to make a clean breast of it with his admiring and confiding fellow-countrymen, tell the whole story? Was it because his first instructions were not to take the Philippines? It has been openly asserted, and never authoritatively denied, that such was the tenor of his original policy. The mutilated document which Mr. McKinley now gives out looks very much as if this were entirely true; as if the President were as sure in August, 1898, that "plain duty" required us to get out of the Philippines, as he was in December, 1899, that it commanded us to give Porto Rico free trade; and as if powerful commercial interests turned him about in one case, as in the other.

At any rate, the President's publication of such parts of the secret archives as suit his partisan purposes, serves to remind us once more of the studied care with which full knowledge has been kept from the people. The Administration has all the cards up its sleeve, and plays only those that it chooses. Just think of it—the foreign correspondence of 1897 and 1898 has not yet been published! The country is in the throes of an election over the results of the war with Spain, and has not yet been permitted to read the diplomatic notes which preceded it! Some extracts were published in Madrid, and they were enough to make Americans hang their heads at the incredible duplicity or unequalled weakness which was revealed in our Government. But the whole story has not yet been set forth. Why not? Why did not the President publish his instructions to the Paris Commissioners in full? His suppressions invite the worst interpretations. They certainly show that his pretence of taking the people into his confidence is hollow. Bent on giving the Filipinos only so much liberty as he thinks is good for them, he is apparently determined to give Americans only so much information as he thinks will be good for them—and for him.

A large part of Mr. McKinley's defence is an iteration of twice-told tales. Into these we cannot follow him in bestowing his tediousness upon the reader. Some of his new ingenuities of misstatement about the Philippines we shall have to leave for later exposure. But what a lamentable showing the whole story is, he himself being witness! What Mr. Olney has bitingly called Mr. McKinley's "stupid and tactless" policy in the Philippines, forces itself through all his smooth and plausible words. A war of humanity turned into cruelties greater than those against which we took up arms; blunder upon blunder; a long record of hope deferred and prophecies unfulfilled; the American name made a hissing where it had been the symbol of hope; even Spain jeering at us for mistakes huger than her own; the Republican party compelled to writhe under the whip of Republican professions and watchwords of other days now applied to its own back—this is really the great ugly fact that Mr. McKinley tries to cover up with a deluge of words. Has he not, by his renewed assertion that Destiny is responsible for all this pitiable record, this indelible shame, taken his rank with those "modern prophets" described by Meredith, "who summon Destiny to strike without a preparation of her weapons or a warning to the victim"?

THE THIRD-PARTY PROTEST.

The gentlemen who put a third Presidential ticket in nomination in this city on September 5, were under no illusions concerning the immediate practical result of their action. They leave to politicians the mouthing of great claims. It is not numbers but a principle for which they stand. Be the votes many or few, there is their profession of political faith, there is the cause to which, whatever others may do, they give hand, heart, and suffrage. Nor, on the other hand, are they afraid to be few. They are not of those who are "ever strong upon the stronger side." All purely moral movements begin with Isaiah's "remnant," and whereunto they may grow their first promoters do not stop to inquire. In the face of enormous numerical odds they are as light of heart as the Welshman, David Gam, who, when asked by King Henry at Agincourt how many French there were in the field, stoutly answered, "Enow to be killed, enow to be made prisoners, and enow to run away!"

If there seems to be more morals than politics in this third-party movement, so much the worse for politics. The Philistines of either party will jeer at a handful of college professors who resolutely say they will have neither part nor lot in the mixture of issues, good and bad, and the repellent personalities put forward by Democrats and Republicans; but don't they wish they might enlist such earnestness and enthusiasm? The very sneer is a confession of the base condition into which the two great parties have brought American politics this year. If the party managers could point, as they have been able to in other days, to the best minds and finest moral zeal of the land arrayed with them in a noble passion for political reform, they would not be so distressed at the sight of a small band of intellectual men parting company with them. They know in their hearts that the few stand for many; that the expressed disgust of the manœuvrings and trickery of the two great parties is representative of a vastly greater unuttered disgust; that the competition in evil which has come to mark partisan politics has created widespread and profound dissatisfaction. A flood of

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unsolicited letters which have come to us from some of the bravest and best of the land, have witnessed to the extent and depth of the feeling among honest men in both parties that they have been betrayed by politicians who would deliberately shut them up to a choice of evils.

It is as a way of escape for the righteously discontented that the third ticket has a good part of its serviceableness. Here is a *tertium quid*, here is an articulate moral protest, a welcome alternative to that entire abstention from voting which would otherwise have been the only refuge for many who refuse to be taken in the snare of either McKinley or Bryan. It is something to have given such men an opportunity to exercise the freeman's right. It is an achievement to have offered a positive good as a substitute for the politician's choice of evils. If the bosses have their way, voting will soon be reduced to a smelling-match to see which egg offered to voters is the least addled. A great many citizens would like political food good in itself, not simply by comparison.

It may be said that the platform of principles adopted by the third-party movement is not so precise and trenchant as it should have been. To this it might well be replied, in the words of the Parliamentary orator who was called to order, "The Speaker failed to appreciate the force and the energy, the justifiable force and energy, of the language which I kept back." Only general principles, only condensed assertions of policy, could advantageously be adopted. The principles are perfectly sound, and include precisely the ones in demand by those who rebel at the hopeless assembling of contradictories in the two party platforms. The recovery and reaffirmation of a republican form of government; the gold standard and a sound banking system; civil-service reform and the abolition of all class legislation—right worthy ends are all these. Out of the jumble of party deliverances, the platform of the new National party seizes all that is good and rejects all that is bad. If to assert such a political profession of faith is to injure either Democrat or Republican, whose fault is it but their own?

And we must not fail to notice one great difference between this latest platform and those which have preceded it. In Senator Caffery we have a man whose character is a guarantee that the thing which he says, that he will perform. He has sacrificed his political career to his convictions. Against his party, against his State, he has stood firm for what he believed to be right. Such a man would not treat a party platform as a juggler's hat, out of which, in the manner of McKinley, to draw all sorts of surprises. He would not go about the country making declarations which would leave his hearers in doubt, as Bryan does, if his passion for liberty were not simulated, or unconsciously histrionic. What we have long needed is character in the candidate to match and assure the promises of the platform. No one can deny that we have such a happy combination in Mr. Caffery and the declaration of principles upon which he is nominated for the Presidency.

Considering the movement, then, in the light of a moral protest, in which clear-eyed and strong-hearted men may join with cheerful assurance of that practical defeat which has so often meant ideal victory, we cannot but commend it. It is a sign that the political conscience is not seared. For the present a protest merely, it may in the future prove a great hope. That we must leave to the future, certain only that it is always right and wise to assert the truth and do the duty which lie next to hand in the present. And of the ultimate triumph of liberty over those who would subvert it, either at home or in distant islands, we can have no more doubt than Emerson, who, aristocrat by intellect and democrat by sympathy and conviction that he was, recorded his belief that

> "He that worketh high and wise,
> Nor pauses in his plan,
> Will take the sun out of the skies
> Ere freedom out of man."

PLATT AND ROOSEVELT NOW.

Brushing aside all minor and unimportant features of the Republican State Convention, its main outstanding result is the triumph of the Platt idea over the Roosevelt idea in the Republican politics of New York. The boss, in other words, has completely extinguished the influence of the reforming Rough Rider. All those quasi-promises made at Philadelphia to Roosevelt's friends that his successor in the Governorship should be a man after his own heart, are now shown to be the dicer's oaths that the discerning perceived them to be at the time. What blunt and honest men will now say all over the State, in view of the dénouement of the farce which Platt has kept on the stage for three months, is simply this: "Well, it was true, then. Platt had determined to get rid of Roosevelt. He wished a Governor whom he could say that he owned, body and breeches. Such a man he has now nominated."

We do not blame Platt for scheming to make himself supreme. He is simply acting after his kind. It is of the nature of a tyrant to brook no dissent or opposition. Not every arbitrary ruler, however, has Platt's astuteness and patience in waiting for the hour to strike to free him from an insubordinate servant. If it is genius to do the best possible with the material in hand, then Platt is a boss of genius. He put up with Roosevelt's eccentricities of reform with infinite long-suffering. The reason was that he could afford to smile grimly and wait. Roosevelt was placing his popularity at the service of the machine, and it was only a question of time when the machine would be strong enough to crush him. If Platt has had any one guiding thought during the past year, it has been to stamp out Roosevelt and all his works. He could explain his conduct as Victor Hugo explained his votes in the French Chamber: "I am guided by this little gentleman in spectacles facing you. As we are invariably of a different opinion, I remain seated if he gets up, and when he remains seated, I get up on trust." Steadily opposed to all that Roosevelt and his friends stood for in the Republican party, Platt has steadily worked to compass their undoing. That is now assured. The last taint of independence and reform is removed from the Republican party in New York. "The party? 'Tis myself," says Platt openly.

To show what a terrible flouting the reforming Republicans have received at Platt's hands, it is necessary to take only their own account of the case. Roosevelt himself said last May that his good work in this State was but begun. He needed another term as Governor to advance it. Therefore, it was his "duty" to refuse the Vice-Presidential nomination. But he had made party fealty a higher obligation than mere duty, and Platt cleverly manipulated things so that the Governor had to take the nomination which he had sworn he would not, or else incur the (to him) frightful odium of not being obedient to party. But even after that first successful trick was played on Roosevelt, he and his friends continued to talk about the bright outlook for a continuance of reform Republican politics in this State. Gen. Greene or President Low would succeed Roosevelt at Albany. At any rate, a "man of his type" would lead the party. Roosevelt's newspaper organs were sure of this. They entered upon that comic phase, so regularly to be observed in them six weeks before the Convention, of reasoning with Platt, expostulating with him, even solemnly warning him of the danger of defeat if he nominated a machine Governor. But the boss let all these legions thunder by, and went on quietly maturing his own plans. What he was all along aiming at and working for is now revealed to all the world, and is, as we have said, a Republican party boss-owned and boss-ridden, with every snivelling reformer cast into the outer darkness.

The incredible thing, however, remains to be told. Roosevelt not only is dragged at Platt's chariot wheels, but professes to like that position in the boss's triumphal procession. He has the effrontery, for we can call it no less, to ascribe Odell's nomination to the "irresistible" demand of Republican voters.

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In an ordinary politician, standing for office, we might excuse this—might pass it by as one of the recognized modes of "supporting your party" by inventing fictions in its behalf which impose upon nobody. But Gov. Roosevelt is an educated man, professing to be bound by the highest standards of truth and honor. As such, it is his duty to see the thing as it is, and to declare what he sees. And he must know, as everybody knows, that his "irresistible demand" for Odell is a gross exaggeration. If he means the demand of the "organization," it is true. If he means the demand of the citizens upon whom the party relies for its majority in the coming election, it is not true. Mr. Odell has, indeed, the qualities that go to the making of a party boss of the prevailing type. He is the man who would naturally step into Platt's shoes if Platt were out of the way. He is a man of the machine, in whom all the lesser machine men have perfect confidence. The men who "run" conventions never had a candidate more to their liking. A ludicrous illustration of his power among them was afforded in the Convention when the presiding officer called on Senator Depew to nominate the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor before the Convention had voted on the nominee for Governor. It was assumed that Odell was nominated without taking a vote. While all this is true, there has been no irresistible demand for Odell in the sense that Roosevelt implies, or in the sense that there was for Roosevelt himself two years ago. In the latter case the demand came from the voters in such strength that the machine dared not oppose it. Now the demand comes from the machine, and the great mass of the voters are either suspicious or indifferent.

To all thinking citizens of the State, Platt's success in sloughing off Roosevelt and what he has represented in the way of better politics, will seem a huge calamity. But they will not think to the best effect if they do not reflect on Roosevelt's own share in his expulsion from the office he really desired, and in which he might have been an eminently useful servant of the State. It will be a woful falling off from Roosevelt to Odell, but the one man who might have prevented it is Roosevelt himself. With more real civic courage to lead the people in a fight against the boss—a courage, we may add, of a finer and higher sort than that required to charge up a dozen San Juan hills—he might not only have remained Governor, but have been that champion for whom Americans are looking in the fated struggle against the tyranny of machine politics.

REGULATION OF THE LOBBY.

The question of the lobby and its relation to legislative bodies is again brought before the public, through the nomination for Governor by the Connecticut Republicans of a man who was openly charged on the floor of the convention hall with "well-known activity in the lobby of the Legislature." In his protest against the selection of such a candidate one speaker asked, "Can any one with candor in his heart say that his connection with the legislation of this State for the past fifteen years, with its dark and still unwritten history, is such as to make his candidacy other than a source of grave peril to the whole ticket?" The fact that Mr. McLean has had a great deal to do with legislation without being a member of the Legislature is conceded by his friends; their defence is that such connection was legitimate.

Every session of Congress brings fresh complaints of lobbying, which increase as the closing days come on. All good citizens agree that there is much which is discreditable and even disgraceful about lobbying, as it is now practised, whether at Hartford or in Washington; yet some of the best men in Congress are of opinion that a lobby of the right sort is a useful and convenient adjunct to legislation in these days of overwork and hurry. No less distinguished a lawmaker than ex-Speaker Reed of Maine, when he was in the House, used to say that there were no terrors for him in a call from a lobbyist, and that he was always willing to go out and see one, unless he had reason to believe the man a rascal. "If any person can tell me more about a pending bill than I know already," he would ask, "why should it be my duty to shun him?" All Mr. Reed insisted upon was that the lobbyist should be clean-handed; stick to his legitimate business, and hold his interviews with Congressmen outside of the legislative chambers.

Fifty years ago there may not have been any need of even such a lobby as Mr. Reed had in mind, since the task of legislation was then far less complex. But the continual increase in the number and variety of topics with which Congress has to deal, makes it impossible for any member to keep abreast of his work with only his personal store of knowledge to draw upon. The number of bills which explain themselves is comparatively small, after one leaves the domain of mere routine legislation. There are boundaries to be rectified, where a public survey has trespassed upon private property; there are taxes to be returned, after erroneous collection; there are sometimes righteous distinctions to be drawn between the individual beneficiaries or victims of general legislation. On all these points the most intelligent members welcome guidance, and no discredit need attach to the work of instructing them; and, besides being shown what to do and how to do it, they need frequent prodding to keep them up to their duty.

The worst feature of existing lobby conditions at Washington is the lack of any visible distinction between the reputable and the disreputable lobby. The only recognized definition of a lobbyist is a person who, from the outside, tries to influence legislation concerning a private or special interest. It is hard to say by just what test we shall distinguish, from a legislative point of view, between a general and a special interest. And since not every special interest before Congress is bad, or every general interest worthy, each case must be judged on its own merits, and the same discrimination should be exercised between the lobby champions of both classes of measures. The lobbyist who, for a fee, will work for a bill which he believes to be bad, stands upon the same plane as the attorney who makes mere merchandise of his license to practise before the courts. But we do not disbar a lawyer because, where he does not consider that any taint or wrong attaches to a case, he accepts a retainer for presenting its best side to judge and jury.

Here we touch the real essence of the lobby question. Why should not Congress, for its own protection, if for no other motive, establish a legislative bar, with standards as high in their way as those of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States? The State of Massachusetts enacted in 1890 a law "relating to the employment of legislative counsel and agents," and has once or twice since amended it. The President of the American Bar Association, in his address at its recent annual meeting, endorsed this statute, and commended the action of the last Maryland Legislature in passing a law modelled upon the Bay State's example. The essence of the Massachusetts law is publicity. It requires the sergeant-at-arms to keep two dockets. In one must be entered the names of counsel employed to appear before committees, as well as of those who make a specialty of certain branches of legislation; in the other, the names of the agents employed for any general purpose in promoting or opposing legislation; and in both must be given the names and addresses of employers and employed, the date and term and character of the employment, and other important particulars. If a person combines the work of counsel with that of agent, he must advertise the fact by appearing in both dockets. Counsel and agents must file, in connection with the entry of their names in the dockets, credentials for their authority, signed with the full names and business addresses of their employers. Punishment for wrongdoing by any counsel or agent involves disbarment for at least three years, together with a fine of from $100 to $1,000; and any employer who fails to meet any of the provisions of the law, including a sworn statement of the expenses incurred by him in promoting or opposing legislation, is subject to a similar fine.

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The testimony of disinterested critics, who are in a position to watch the working of the Massachusetts law, is that it has operated in the interest of clean legislation, and that it has diminished the number and raised the grade of men constituting the "third house." Its chief fault, according to the same authority, is that it does not reach far enough; for it provides no initiative on the part of the State's officers to call to account persons who are suspected of illicit dabbling in legislation from the outside, and it is also open to evasion in various ways. The puzzle is how to make the law more effective without infringing upon the rights of the public. Still, no one can deny that it gives reputable men an opportunity to engage in a useful pursuit which many now avoid for fear of inferentially smirching their good names. The man who, in defiance of such a law, plies his trade as a lobbyist without registration, brands himself as at least a potential rascal. The statute may not furnish the police authorities with the means of punishing him; but he cannot escape the moral pillory, and his disgrace will be shared by every legislator who is seen in his company.

THE RUSSIANS IN MANTCHURIA.

HARBIN, June 23, 1900.

The Chinese Eastern Railway is already almost an accomplished fact. It is not three years since that its survey was commenced. At the present time trains are running over more than a thousand miles of its various lines, and the remaining eight hundred are well along towards completion. The rapidity of its construction is the marvel of modern enterprise. Its completion means the ultimate possession by Russia of the fairest portion of the disintegrating Chinese Empire and the firm establishment of the Muscovite power on the Pacific Coast. Vladivostok is ice-bound during the winter months. Port Arthur is one of the finest naval stations in the world, and commands the entrance to the very capital of China.

I have just made the trip over the section of the railway from Port Arthur to Harbin, a distance of 600 miles. For four hundred miles we availed ourselves of construction trains. For the remaining two hundred we were driven to the use of Chinese carts drawn by mules. From Port Arthur to New-Chwang, at the head of the Gulf of Lao-Tung, the road runs along the southern base of the range of mountains forming the Lao-Tung peninsula, of which Port Arthur forms the nose. The mountains are bare of verdure, and have the general bluish-gray color so predominant in the Rocky Mountains. The peaks rarely rise more than 3,000 or 4,000 feet above the sea, and uniformly reveal the outlines of long-continued erosion. Conical forms abound, and the entire sky line is graceful and picturesque in the extreme. The arable land is fertile, and the occasional glimpses of the sea add a charm that for tourists will make it rival in attraction the ride from Florence to Genoa in Italy.

From New-Chwang to Mukden, a distance of about one hundred miles, the railway runs along the eastern margin of the fertile valley of the Lao River. This valley is about one hundred miles wide, and forms an extension of the Lao-Tung Gulf, which has been filled by the rich sediment brought down by the river during long geological ages. Being well watered, its fertility is of the highest order. To the east of this plain the mountain chain continues without interruption and with all its varied beauty of outline. North of Mukden the valley narrows to a width of about forty miles, with a low range of mountains skirting the western horizon. Otherwise the scene remains substantially unchanged for thirty miles until reaching Te-lin, the present terminus of the completed portion of this section of the railway. But here, for the first time, the mountains become covered with green, indicating a region of greater and more equable rainfall. Shortly to the north of Te-lin, also, the western mountains disappear, and one looks out in that direction upon a plain which merges insensibly into what is marked on the maps as the Eastern Gobi Desert. But it is far from being a desert. Throughout, it is deeply covered with rich alluvial soil, and along the eastern border traversed by the railway it is well watered, and supports in affluence a dense population.

It was along this unfinished section of the road that we travelled for two hundred miles in Chinese carts. The mountains which had formed our eastern limit of vision for 300 miles still appeared above the horizon, but gradually receded as we approached the Sungari River, until from this point they are a series of blue specks scarcely distinguishable from the sky. We were told by the stately Cossack Colonel at Te-lin that as we went north the country grew more and more monotonous, but the increasing monotony has been that of unparalleled richness and fertility. On passing the low watershed separating the streams running into the Sea of Okhotsk from those emptying into the China Sea, we are evidently in an old lake bed like that in the basin of the Red River of the North, forming the great wheat area of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Manitoba. Alluvium covers everything to a depth of a hundred feet. The scenery is that of the prairies of Illinois and Iowa, and the fertility is in every respect equal. Not less than 10,000 square miles of this prairie region have come directly under our eye, and from inquiry it is certain that four times as much is equally well situated. It is only when one gets more than a hundred miles to the west that the rain is scanty, and even there it is sufficient to make good grazing country.

Every acre of the broad eastern belt traversed by us is under careful cultivation. There are no fences. Everything is planted in rows and kept free from weeds. As we passed through, during the middle of June, the fields were fairly alive with companies of from ten to twenty men at work in a place hoeing the growing grain of various sorts. The most frequent crops are of millet, sorghum, beans, wheat, hemp, indigo, and the poppy. The whole belt is a continuous garden. When the railway is completed, nothing can be more pleasing than a ride through these fields during the months of July, August, and September. Nor is this an exceptional year of fertility. Everywhere there is the appearance of thrift and contentment. Noble groves of trees appear at frequent intervals, enclosing the dwelling-places both of the living and of the dead. The houses are in good repair, and generally supplied with generous stacks of sorghum stalks for wind-breaks and fuel. Sorghum, by the way, is perhaps the most important of all the productions of the region. But it is not the sugar-producing variety. Its seed furnishes food for the working animals, while its stalks are woven into the walls of their houses and laid upon the roofs preparatory to the necessary covering of mud to protect from cold and moisture; and as fuel it is almost as good as wood. At present, indigo and opium form the most important staples of export.

In obtaining practical possession of Mantchuria, Russia has not only won its long-coveted military vantage-ground on the Pacific, but it has acquired one of the richest provinces of the world, already possessing a population larger than that of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania combined. The single district of Lao-Tung has 12,000,000 inhabitants. The total area of the province is 390,000 square miles. But, though the mass of the population is collected in the central portion penetrated by the railways, the extensive mountainous regions on both the eastern and the western borders contain vast undeveloped mineral resources and valuable forest areas. The railway is sure at once to have a large and profitable local traffic. Tens of thousands of mules now engaged in hauling the surplus products of the interior to New-Chwang, over the most horrible roads in the world, will at once resign in favor of the steam engine; new industries will arise as soon as exchange is facilitated; and, if the Mantchus are like the Japanese and the Chinese about Pekin, they will be induced by low fares to crowd the local trains for short trips to and fro upon the line.

As a military measure, the value of the railway is apparent on a slight inspection of the map. By it the Trans-Baikal is brought into direct connection with an open port on the Pacific in the latitude of Washington. Harbin, the "solar plexus" of the system, situated on the Sungari River, is about equally distant from Port Arthur, Vladivostok, and the border of Trans-Baikalia, while good river navigation connects it with the ocean through the Amur during the summer months. From this point the railway is being constructed outwards in three directions, while construction is in progress inwards from the three termini. Within less than a year the whole line will be opened and 100,000 troops could be transferred from Vladivostok, on interior lines, to the vicinity of Pekin in a few days, while within two weeks another 100,000 could be brought into the same field from the heart of Russia. As a land force, Russia will then be supreme in the Far East. As a naval Power, she will also have the advantage of possessing two capacious and invulnerable harbors in close communication with all the internal resources of the Empire.

To this condition of things the philanthropist surely cannot object. For Russia will surely introduce into the region a higher civilization, and in the wake of her rule will spring up better established order and the prosperity sure to attend it. To obtain

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this position was a part of her national destiny. No self-respecting Russian could think of resting until this end was attained. It is not likely that Russia's ambition will seek for more. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

THE PARIS EXHIBITION.—IX.

THE SCULPTURE.

LONDON, August, 1900.

The drawback to art exhibitions, as a rule, is that the artist's work must necessarily be shown under entirely artificial conditions. A painting designed to decorate, perhaps, a dark corner in a church, hangs on the wall of a gallery in the merciless exposure of a top light; a statue intended to ornament the façade of a building is placed among a hundred others in an open court with as much thought for arrangement as there is for the tombs in a cemetery. Again and again you feel the injustice to the artist of criticising either the picture or the statue until you can see it where and how he meant, from the beginning, it should be seen. Now, in Paris, as I have said, this drawback has been done away with to a certain extent. Whenever possible, the artist has adorned the buildings with his paintings, or mosaics, or sculptures. The result is, without question, interesting. But, while it helps one to form some idea of the general character and tendency of the painter's and sculptor's work in France to-day, it often makes the study of individual performance very difficult, and this difficulty I felt especially in the case of the sculpture.

If you enter by the Porte Monumentale, you will find the long avenue leading to the Palais des Beaux-Arts lined on either side by statues. More statues are placed in front of the two palaces, where it is with pleasure you note the prominence given to Mr. St. Gaudens and Mr. MacMonnies. Sculpture forms an important part of the scheme of decoration of both buildings and of the bridge; it completes the design of several of the foreign pavilions along the Seine; it is a feature of the exhibits in other pavilions and in the Palaces of the Industrial Arts. In a word, you can hardly go anywhere in the grounds that you do not come upon examples of the sculptor's art. And not only this: in the Grand Palais, though the large court is reserved for the Decennial Collection, and the charming smaller circular court in the Avenue d'Antin wing of the building for the Centennial, much of the sculpture is scattered through the picture galleries, where it adds materially to the decorative effect, but also not a little to the confusion of the student! It seems impossible not to overlook many things that do not deserve to be overlooked, not to lose something of your sense of proportion in the course of wandering from one end of the huge enclosure to the other—and even further, if you visit M. Rodin's special exhibition. But however much may be missed, however bewildered you may find yourself at times, there can be no doubt of the impression left by the collection, inside and out of the Grand Palais, as a whole. It is one of wonder at the immense skill and facility of the modern French sculptor, and the perverse conception of the end and object of the art to which his technical accomplishment has led him. Surely, since Lessing, in the 'Laokoon,' laid down the law of moderation in expression, never has that moderation been so sinned against as at the present day. It is the flamboyancy, the exaggeration, the restlessness of modern sculpture that is its weakness.

Classicism, with all its faults, all its chilling influence, at least kept the artist within bounds. It allowed no scope for the expression of emotions, whether sham or real. The little circular court may leave you cold and unresponsive, but the general effect is one of dignity and repose. The Romantic movement, however, made for extremes, it encouraged the emotional. From Barye, with his animals, to Rodin, the sculptor of emotion, as he might be called, there is more and more action and movement. Dramatic feeling begins to be prized above beautiful form, until in the younger men restraint, evidently, would be looked upon as a sign of feebleness. M. Rodin's famous Balzac proved to what mistaken lengths the very greatest may be drawn. In M. Frémiet, as he is represented in the Centennial Collection, you are still more conscious of the struggle; he can be as restrained as anybody in a statue like the dignified little "Porte-falot à cheval, au XVe Siècle," that has much of the charm and distinction of the Jeanne d'Arc in the Place des Pyramides. But in his prehistoric groups, his prowling gorillas and young elephants, he oversteps the line, and seems to be vying with the innumerable artists of the moment who seek applause by violence of action and immoderation of expression. However, what appears to be excessive here, would be reticence itself in the larger court. Probably because space was limited, the earlier work has been chosen with much discretion. All the best-known men of the century—Rude, Barye, Falguière, Frémiet, Rodin, Carriès, Barrias, Mercié—have their place; but the multitude who, for years, filled the huge court of the Palais de l'Industrie to overflowing, are excluded, and, as a result, there is in this Centennial series comparatively little of the exaggeration that elsewhere offends you at every step.

You have but to pass down the wide hall that connects the circular with the large court, to realize the difference. At once, you are in a wilderness of squirming figures and twisted and tortured bodies, all in attitudes that could not be retained for a minute, and all, in defiance of Lessing, fairly screaming and shrieking at you for notice. The truth is, the sculptor is submitted to no less severe a competition than the painter. Notice is what he craves at any cost, and he, too, hopes to win it by turning out his Salon or Exposition *machine*, only in marble, or plaster, or bronze, instead of in paint. Everywhere, on all sides, you are confronted with this same over-emphasis in action, in expression, in composition. Perhaps the competition is really harder for the sculptor, whose initial expenses are heavier than the painter's, but the demand for whose work is less; and the tendency to exaggeration, to eccentricity of one kind or another that shall attract attention to his ability—and he usually is able—grows upon him. The worst of it is, in the end, that all but the greatest are influenced by this new and ever-growing pandemonium of inappropriateness that seems to be mistaken by the modern Frenchman for sculpture. Even M. Bartholomé cannot wholly escape. His monument to the dead, already seen at the Champ-de-Mars, is probably the most solemn work, the most severe in intention, in the entire French exhibit. I have already noticed it in writing of the Salon, and pointed out the grandeur in the very simplicity of the composition: the open door in the centre, with two nude figures on the threshold, the darkness of death beyond, and, on either side, groups weeping and wailing against a wide surface of uncarved stone. There is absolutely no ornament, nothing to break the severity of outline; but, as if in forced concession to public taste, in one or two of the watchers at the tomb grief is so unrestrained that you might fancy Lessing asking what it leaves to the imagination. The evil, however, is not here sufficient to mar the solemnity of the design, but it becomes more pronounced in the case of Frémiet. His "St. George Slaying the Dragon" has a delightful swagger, where the other equestrian statues are only posing and grimacing, but he has chosen the extreme moment of action; the horse rears until you have the unpleasant feeling that in another second he and his rider must topple over backwards into the coils of the dragon. What a contrast to the "Porte-falot" in the circular court! Or, again, look at the "Jeanne d'Arc" by M. Dubois, which also is simple compared to the self-conscious efforts that surround it, but there is discomfort in the very way the maid holds up her sword. The Jeanne d'Arc in the Place des Pyramides is as warlike, as martial, but there is no suggestion of fatigue in her attitude. Again, a similar tendency reveals itself in the work of M. Falguière—his last—and M. Dalou; in the jewel-like arrangements of M. Carriès, M. Rivière, and M. Charpentier, who are almost unduly preoccupied with color and the ornamental value of their materials; and so I might go through the list, adding example to example.

I confess that at moments I felt there must be right in numbers, that, where the majority were of such accord, there must be legitimate reason for doubt. And then, doubt was silenced by two works, not very far apart, that stood out as a reproach, not to all, of course, but to by far too large a proportion of the collection. One was M. Rodin's "Baiser"—for, though M. Rodin has his own exhibition and contributes to the Centennial series as well, he has spared to the modern section one of the most beautiful and simple of all his groups, almost classic in its perfection of form and loveliness of flowing line. The second was Mr. St. Gaudens's "General Sherman," too well known for me to attempt to describe it anew. But though, as seen here, I was still conscious of what seems to me to be a defect in it—the position of the fine Victory, who looks less as if leading the way than as if in immediate danger of being trampled under the horses' hoofs—nowhere have I been so impressed with the dignity and splendor of the statue: the movement expressed by just the right degree of reserve (there is no uncomfortable anticipation of the horse galloping off into space), and the figure sitting so well astride, the figure of a man born to command. As far as the sculpture is concerned, the Exposition is Mr. St. Gaudens's triumph.

The French have amiably given the American sculptors a conspicuous part of the centre of the court, and, towering above the "General Sherman," overshadowing, you might say, the unfortunate monument to

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Victor Hugo that is the chief centre of all, are the two groups of horses by Mr. MacMonnies. This is one of the instances when you are more than ever convinced of the necessity of seeing a work of art, not in an exhibition gallery, but on its proper site. Even here, despite the disadvantage, there is no mistaking the astonishing vigor of modelling, the force, the strength of the two groups. But, hemmed in, as they are, by countless other statues and monuments, as florid and flamboyant as can be, they seem a little out of scale, and it is not easy to see them properly from any point of view, though they dominate the court as you come in by the main entrance or look down from the balcony. However, Mr. MacMonnies, with these, and his "Venus and Adonis," "Bacchante," and "Shakspere," among other things, proves himself, as he often has done already, one of the most powerful of modern sculptors. It must be remembered that Mr. St. Gaudens's "Shaw Memorial" is excellently placed at the head of the great stairway, that his "Puritan" is in front of the Petit Palais, and that he exhibits besides a bas-relief of an angel with a tablet, and several medallions. There is also work by Mr. Proctor and Mr. Bartlett, and, altogether, it is astonishing that, restricted in numbers as the American sculpture is, it should make the most impressive showing of all. My one regret was that Mr. French, whose work I do not know so well, should have sent nothing but his equestrian statue of Washington that stands under the portico of the insignificant American Pavilion; and that, to me, was a very serious disappointment—it may be because I expected too much.

Many of the other foreign sections can boast one or more distinguished sculptors. Great Britain suffers from the inexplicable absence of Mr. Alfred Gilbert, but there are, fortunately, characteristic contributions from Mr. Onslow Ford, Mr. Frampton, Mr. Drury, and two or three besides, all of whom, certainly in their decorative work, have had a large influence, not only in England, but on the Continent. Mr. Frampton's most important statue stands just outside the Grand Palais. Mr. Ford's tomb of Shelley is conspicuous on a lower balcony; but it can hardly be said that the English sculptors, as a group, are as impressive or reveal as much originality as the American. Belgium has Constantine Meunier, who, with the chisel, has dignified Labor as truly as Millet did with the brush. Russia has Antokolsky and Vallgren; Hungary, Zala, whose huge Archangel Gabriel and allegorical figure of Hungaria, though still more out of scale in the court of the Grand Palais than Mr. MacMonnies's horses, are so characterized by large simplicity that the chances are, when in their decorative place, they will be effective enough. But, as a rule, in the foreign sections, as in the French, extravagance prevails, and I am not sure that it does not reach its utmost limit in the work of the Danes, who, especially in the case of Willumsen, are as deliberately fantastic in their sculpture as in their painting, or in that of the Italians, more particularly of Biondi, whose "Saturnalians," with the many figures and riotous abandonment of gesture and action and expression, naturally held the crowd spellbound before it. I never passed that it was not besieged.

All this is depressing. But matters seem far worse when you come to consider the sculptures decorating the different buildings. Inside the court, the conditions offer an excuse for any apparent shortcomings. But no such excuse exists for the work that ornaments the two Palaces of the Fine Arts, the new bridge, the Salle des Fêtes, the Château d'Eau, and so many other palaces and pavilions. Statues and groups are in the architectural setting for which the sculptor knew, from the first, they were destined. And yet it is in the sculpture thus put to definite decorative use that the prevailing restlessness, the irrepressible distortions and contortions are most aggressive. Repose or restraint is all but unknown. Moderation is scarcely understood. Every outstretched arm or leg, every flying drapery, is a separate bid for your attention. It is not a mere figure of speech to say that you cannot see the Grand Palais for its decorations. The feverish haste to cover up all the buildings is particularly regrettable in the case of these permanent palaces. Every space has been as hurriedly filled as if speed were the one merit demanded. No great work has ever been done in so headlong, impetuous a fashion, nor was there any reason for this exemplary promptness. The palaces are to remain, and the Exhibition would not have suffered had all the spaces been left empty of ornament until long after its gates have closed. That the work could be finished on time is, no doubt, creditable enough from the standpoint of industry and application. But, though you may never cease to wonder at the many sculptors who are competent and accomplished craftsmen, neither can you help lamenting that, for all their accomplishment, so few should be artists. The French sculptor has the technical ability to do almost anything if only he had the supreme gift of all—the knowledge of the right thing to do. M. Rodin is one of the rare exceptions, and he is not always infallible.

N. N.

Correspondence.

AS BETWEEN McKINLEY AND BRYAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not know that what I wish to say is worth your perusal, but I will offer it.

In your No. 1833 (August 16) you say, in response to a request from Mr. Francis Fisher Brown, "Our way is very simple—to refrain from voting for McKinley, etc., etc." Feeling that this will not satisfy a good many who have the welfare of our country very much at heart, I would give the following reasons for taking your advice, and then ask if it would not be well to go further than you advise and vote for Bryan.

In the first place, Mr. McKinley stands for a high and, in some important cases, a prohibitory tariff. Now, I believe that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and I cannot but believe that it would be pleasing in his sight for all nations to entertain kindly feelings toward each other; that he has given to different sections of the earth different kinds of wealth, and has given different kinds of capacity to the different peoples of the earth; that a free interchange of these gifts to man is a very great promoter of good feeling. So, as a Christian, I am for coming as near to free trade as possible. As a lover of my country I denounce high tariffs as a great cause of corruption at home, enmity abroad, and injustice to the large majority of our people.

Now, as for the financial part. The Republican party is not only responsible for the legal tenders by which a debtor was for years enabled to get free of a debt contracted in good money by paying for the same in a depreciated currency, but also for the rascally use of the word "coin" on many of our bonds. Let any one follow the Republican party in its relation to the legal tenders, remember what the law now is, and ask if a greater financial heresy ever existed in the history of our country.

If my memory serves me correctly, the passage of the bill for enlarging the army was facilitated by the assertion of a member of Congress close to the President that the President would rely chiefly on volunteers, and would not resort to a draft unless compelled to. Now let our people look the matter square in the face. Are we prepared to have a conscription for the sake of holding millions of people on the other side of the earth in subjection for ever, or even until they can establish a *stable* government of their own? A *stable* government! We may flatter ourselves that we have a *stable* government. Wherein is the stability, if not in an exact adherence to the Constitution? Will it do to trust to any one's (however exalted among men) "sense of duty"?

With combinations of capital to shape its course and Rough Riders to carry out the programme, I see no hope for the country in the Republican party. The worst features in the Democratic platform have either their origin or their encouragement in what the Republicans have practised for years.

You may have thought my question about the four hundred million of silver dollars in the Treasury rather an idle one; but if you have perfect faith in their being paid out *only* in redemption of silver certificates, never mind what emergency might arise, your faith is greater than mine.

Yours truly, JAS. B. NOURSE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1900.

IMPERIALISM IN PORTO RICO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In addition to those you mention, in your answer to your correspondent who asked an explanation of the present government of Porto Rico, some other features of the law perhaps deserve notice in view of the claim, now frequently made, that Imperialism is imaginary.

It is not only true, as you say, that the government of these people, the first subjects of the United States, is in the hands of its President, but the statutory laws of this alien country "not locally inapplicable" have been imposed upon them by section 14. Moreover, not merely a majority, but ALL of the members of the Executive Council are appointed by the President. The strong language of Governor-General Wood quoted in your issue of August 30, emphasizing the injustice of subjecting any people to the "decisions of tribunals composed of persons alien in race and sentiment, administering a system of laws with which [they] are entirely unfamiliar," applies forcibly to the provisions of sections 33-35, whereby the courts and tribunals established in the island by the army of occupation are continued and a court styled "The District Court of the United States for the District

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of Porto Rico" is created, all the pleadings and proceedings in which must be conducted in the English language.

All of the judiciary of the island are to be or have been appointed by the President or his appointee, the alien Governor. Writs of error and appeals from the Supreme Court of Porto Rico, as well as from the District Court, are taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the face of this sample, it is rather surprising to read how glibly the people are assured that Imperialism is a bugaboo, and that Mr. Bryan's speech of acceptance shirked the real issue. CHARLES B. WILBY.

BIDDEFORD POOL, ME., September 4, 1900.

THE ROUSING OF THE BEAST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A lively contemporary ironically compliments the Springfield *Republican* upon its ingenuity in discovering a connection between the Akron riots and the Philippine war. I do not know what the *Republican* proves or disproves in the article referred to, but have no doubt that a real connection exists between these two phases of contemporary history. There lies in each of us, buried more or less deeply according to the character and antecedents of the individual, the old animal love of carnage. Civilization may have put this bestial passion to sleep and covered it with layer after layer of æsthetic tastes, social sympathies, and fine manners. Nevertheless, every Darwinian (and most scholars and thinkers are Darwinians nowadays) knows that it is there. It is our inheritance from half-human ancestors. Christianity and civilization have striven for centuries to kill out this passion. Perhaps some day it will perish, as unused organs have done in many forms of life. But meantime it is merely "scotched," and, under fostering conditions, it can waken as thoroughly as did the frozen serpent in Æsop's fable when it was warmed by the peasant's fire.

The worst evil of war (as it seems to me) is its constant appeal to the fighting instinct and to the bestial love of blood-shedding. Every one who has sufficient intelligence to take an interest in the daily papers is being familiarized with the idea of slaughtering his fellow-men. The sanctity of human life is quite forgotten. The love of bloodshed which lurks in hidden chambers of the soul is brought forth and fostered. How quickly it can grow is shown by some extracts from soldiers' letters which have been published in our papers and in Canadian journals. Their absolute savagery is sufficient evidence how soon all the painfully acquired spiritual results of civilization and Christianity can be lost. Young lads whose minds are developing and whose characters are forming, are daily regaled with details of carnage; and the illustrated periodicals especially, with their pictures of charging battalions and bursting shells, have infused every mother's little son with the spirit of battle. It is disastrously easy to arouse this spirit. It is not easy to direct or to restrain it.

The riots in Akron and in New York city and the disturbances in the South are but the natural expression of this aroused spirit, and, unless the present scribe is a false prophet, there will yet be similar scenes on British territory as an indirect result of the South African war.

A STUDENT OF BIOLOGY.

"EQUITY" AND THE BOERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent "Equity" (in No. 1835) makes some statements about the Boers which ought not to pass without a word or two of comment. He says that they have been treated throughout the war as regular belligerents, and seems to think this a proof that the Transvaal has been recognized by England as a foreign state. I rather think that the Boers have been considered about the same *sort of* "regular" belligerents as were the Southerners at the time of the secession war, and not used any worse, though in many respects they have behaved far worse.

"Equity's" claim of foreign nationality for the Boers simply begs the whole much bewrangled question of the suzerainty, and cannot be settled by his mere anonymous *ipse dixit*. A state owing its existence to England's authority, forbidden to make foreign treaties without her consent, and peopled at the outbreak of the war in the proportion of about 120 English to 80 Dutch, was hardly in a position to set up for "an independent foreign nation" upon a violent anti-British basis.

"Equity's" assertion that the Boers have observed the laws and humanities of war is contradicted by many well-known facts. Has he never heard or read anything concerning the outrageous and systematic abuse of white flags and red crosses? Of uniformless men claiming to be either soldiers or civilians according as time or place might be convenient? Of oaths of neutrality or allegiance sworn and broken at the swearer's discretion as often as he was allowed to avail himself thereof? Men's lives have often been forfeited for such offences as these with approval by the rules of civilized warfare, and long before the Boers were ever heard of. How might French or German or United States soldiers be expected to act when opposed to an enemy holding and practising such peculiar views of the "laws and humanities of war"? Not much better, I fear, than the brutal English.

Though "Equity's" letter is very short, it would take a long reply to expose all its misrepresentations. I shall only notice one more. He speaks of Boer women and children being turned out to perish. On the contrary, it is well known that, in the course of this war, the wives and children of many Boers have been supported and *kept from starvation* by this same much-maligned English Government, while their husbands were fighting against it. An odd fact in this connection is that, just before the war broke out, several influential Boers living in the Republics sent their families to Cape Town to be out of harm's way, and under the protection of their "brutal" enemy until the war should be over.

L. C. ALLISON, M.B.

ST. JOHN, N. B., September 5, 1900.

TREATMENT OF PATRIOTS AS REBELS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You say, "Since the proclamation of annexation [in the Transvaal], burghers found with arms in their hands are technically rebels, and subject to hanging for treason."

You surely would not lend your authority to the doctrine that a successful invader, having overrun a country, can, by proclaiming it annexed, entitle himself to treat all patriots who hold out as rebels, and hang them, when he catches them, for treason.

Maximilian, for treating Mexican patriots who held out against his empire as rebels, was himself shot; and though everybody pitied him, his doom was regarded as just.

Napoleon destroyed the patriot armies of Spain and established the monarchy of his brother at Madrid. But Spanish patriots held out as guerrillas, and were accepted as allies by Great Britain in a series of campaigns.

Hofer and the Tyrolese peasantry held out after the annexation of the Tyrol to Bavaria. England sympathized in the most marked manner with their resistance, and the execution of Hofer as a rebel has always been regarded as one of the vilest acts of Napoleon.

Lord Roberts, it seems, proclaims his intention of shooting any burgher of the Transvaal who fails to give him notice of the presence of a patriotic force. What would have been said if such a proclamation had been issued by the German invaders of France?

The British, it appears, are now transporting their prisoners of war, who have every possible claim to the character of regular belligerents, to Ceylon; the families of these prisoners in South Africa being left to their fate.

Are such to be the fruits of the Convention at The Hague? Is American opinion on these questions dead, or has it been bribed to silence by the service supposed to have been rendered to the United States by the British Government at the time of the Spanish war? EQUITY.

September 8, 1900.

[The context shows that we were merely stating the British point of view, which has, however, far greater justification than our treating the Filipinos as insurgents.—ED. NATION.]

THE SCHOOLBOY'S VOCABULARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: After reading a letter in the *Nation* of this week from J. H. Dillard, I wish to urge, as one reason for the poverty of vocabulary of many graduates of our schools, the great variety of occupations imposed upon them during their school years—a variety which often limits their study of the English language and its literature to very small proportions.

In the public schools of Brookline, Mass., are taught a number of natural sciences besides drawing, singing, carpentry, domestic science, sewing and dressmaking, all of which necessarily crowd out the technical study of the English language. On visiting a very elaborately equipped schoolhouse in Brookline last winter, I asked a seventh-grade teacher of six or seven years' experience, whether all this table-setting, bed-making, sewing, and dress-cutting did not lower the standard of "book-learning" among her pupils, and she said that such was certainly the case. Now, although a great deal of this teaching is of more prac-

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tical value to many of the pupils of the public schools than too much literature, it seems to me a great mistake to try to combine the classical and literary school with the industrial school; both lose by the combination, and the study of the English language is often absolutely neglected for a time.

A boy of fifteen, who was transferred last winter from a school in another State to one of our Massachusetts high schools, was not called upon to write anything in the nature of an abstract or composition during the first two months of his attendance; his studies during this time were Roman history, Latin, algebra, drawing, and singing, some time being spent at prayers and gymnastics. Now, if the "daily theme" courses in the colleges are as beneficial as they are considered to be, two months seems far too long a time to allow the very imperfect English of the average boy of fifteen to remain uncriticised. The reaction from teaching exclusively from a text-book to the modern topical method of treating English literature is, to my mind, another evil when the teacher, as is too often the case, has no great love for the best literature, and does his work in a rather perfunctory manner. In some grammar schools which I have known, studying poetry meant studying the poems of Longfellow almost exclusively.

I do not know the "Scholar's Companion," mentioned by your correspondent, but some of the old-fashioned text-books of English literature which give extracts from a variety of authors, would have a far better effect in forming a good English style than such a treadmill routine as this. To obtain good results from many methods of teaching now in fashion, the teachers should be, not only well trained, but endowed by nature with a wonderfully large amount of judgment and good taste; this, it will be said, has always been the case, but not to any such degree as at present, when the text-book, although improving yearly in quality, has, in the teaching of such studies as history and English literature, fallen somewhat into disrepute.

NANCY S. HOOPER.

TAPPAN ST., BROOKLINE, MASS.,
September 7, 1900.

Notes.

Huxley's Life and Letters, edited by his son Leonard, in two volumes, overshadows in interest the rest of the preliminary list of Messrs. Appleton which it leads. We cite also 'The Private Life of the Prince of Wales'; 'The Boers in War,' by Howard C. Hillegas; 'Commodore Paul Jones,' by Cyrus Townsend Brady; 'The Story of the Soldier,' by Gen. G. A. Forsyth, U. S. A.,' in Mr. Ripley Hitchcock's "Story of the West" series; 'Hungarian Literature,' by Dr. Zoltan Beothy; 'The Art of Writing English,' by Prof. J. M. D. Meiklejohn; 'The Individual,' by Prof. N. S. Shaler; 'Some Women I Have Known,' by Maarten Maartens; 'Clearing-Houses: Their History, Methods, and Administration,' by James G. Cannon; an illustrated edition of 'David Harum'; and 'The Brass Bottle,' by F. Anstey.

The Century Company will publish next month 'Dr. North and his Friends,' by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; 'The Strenuous Life,' by Gov. Roosevelt; 'The Gospel of Wealth,' by Andrew Carnegie; and 'College Administration,' by President Thwing of Western Reserve University.

Further announcements from Little, Brown & Co. are a new volume on Japan, 'Shadowings,' by Lafcadio Hearn, and a new edition of Parkman's 'Oregon Trail,' with seventy-five illustrations by Frederic Remington.

Ginn & Co. have nearly ready 'Apes and Monkeys: Their Life and Language,' by R. L. Garner, and 'Wilderness Ways,' by William J. Long.

'America' is the title selected for Charles Dana Gibson's October book of drawings; 'The Passing Show' for a new collection of Albert B. Wenzell's drawings. Both will be published by R. H. Russell.

Elder & Shepard, San Francisco, will soon have ready 'The Religion of Democracy,' by Charles Ferguson.

Macmillan Co. request us to state that the *Critic* had no foundation for its statement (bolstered by a portrait) that the author of 'Elizabeth and her German Garden' is the Princess Henry of Pless. She "was in no way connected with its authorship."

Two new volumes in Macmillan's "Library of English Classics" confirm the attractiveness of this stately series. One is White's 'Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne,' in faithful reprint of the original (1789) edition, but with the happy conjunction of Dr. John Aikin's compilation from White's papers, published in 1795, under the title, 'A Naturalist's Calendar, with Observations in Various Branches of Natural History by the late Rev. Gilbert White.' Part of this addendum represents gleanings from material already sifted by White, and part is from notes not drawn upon at all. The combination gives an especial distinction to this reissue. The other volume is 'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville,' modernized in spelling upon the Cotton manuscript in the British Museum, which is for the first time faithfully "reproduced, 'warts and all,' save in less than a dozen instances," to avoid nonsense. This has been no light labor for the editor, Mr. A. W. Pollard, who usefully enlarges the volume by appending "three narratives illustrative of Mandeville," namely, Carpini's voyage, William of Rubruck's journal (lately edited by Mr. Rockhill for the Hakluyt Society and noticed by us a few months ago), and Friar Odoric's Journal. So again we have a conjunction that competes with any edition heretofore reproduced—in price as well as in the particulars just set forth.

The extreme rarity of a campaign life of Lincoln, writen by John Locke Scripps of the Chicago *Tribune*, in 1860, and published conjointly by that journal and by the New York *Tribune*, justifies the reprinting of it since it is the earliest in existence. It is a good specimen of its class, and had the advantage of some communications from the subject of it. It is now issued in quarto form, with much mechanical care and general good taste (particularly in the binding), from the Cranbrook Press, Detroit, to the number of 245 copies. Of Mr. Scripps, who owed his prenomen to a family connection with John Locke, there is a frontispiece portrait and a biographical sketch. His father was an Englishman, and, curiously enough, was one of the framers of the Missouri Constitution in 1820; and in that State he himself was born, so that Mr. Lincoln's first biographer was, like himself, a Southerner.

Two more books about "Trusts" are at hand. One, by William Hudson Harper, is entitled 'Restraint of Trade' (Chicago: Regan Printing House), and contains a heterogeneous mass of arguments, opinions, and facts, from which the reader may pick what he wants. The other, by William Miller Collier, is called 'The Trusts: What can we do with them? What can they do for us?' (New York: Baker & Taylor Co.). Publicity is the panacea recommended by this writer; not without some display of knowledge and argument.

It seems a far cry now to Émile Gaboriau, the specialist in what his countrymen call "le roman judiciaire," with its elaborate mystery and its sometimes clumsy gathering up of the threads. Osgood's 1875 edition, in five volumes, of 'Monsieur Lecoq,' 'The Mystery of Percival,' 'The Honor of the Name,' 'File No. 113,' and 'Other People's Money,' has just been revived very presentably, with illustrations, by Charles Scribner's Sons. The titles speak for themselves, and will attract those who are fond of "detective" stories.

We noticed with commendation on its appearance the first part of 'A French-English Military Technical Dictionary,' by Lieut. Cornélis De Witt Willcox, U. S. A. (Washington: Adjutant-General's Office). The work is now completed, in three parts, numbering nearly 500 pages. For an appendix is given the French Revolutionary Calendar, in correspondence with the Gregorian. The work is a very valuable addition to the best of French dictionaries. For example, not one of the six compound expressions under *dé—dé agrafe, dé briseur*, etc.—is to be found in Hatzfeld.

Dr. William Everett's Phi Beta Kappa oration on "Patriotism," not of the new-fangled kind, is placed where it belongs in the forefront of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for September, which for the rest is mainly a record of Commencement doings. Remarkable, however, is the account of the various buildings of novel purpose now in course of erection, which will do more to transform the life of the college than any structures for half a generation. The college fence and gateways are also to be extended and multiplied, and class devotion now resorts to this form of commemoration since the last window in Memorial Hall has been taken. The gifts of the past year have been extraordinary.

The report of the United States Fish Commissioner for the year ending June 30, 1899, just issued from the Government Printing-office, is distinguished from its predecessors by "Notes on the Foreign Fishing Trade and Local Fisheries of Porto Rico." These have been contributed by the Commission's agent, Mr. W. A. Wilcox, who accompanied the *Fish Hawk* expedition to the island in January of last year. The paper is accompanied by photographic illustrations. The remarkable water-color drawings of Porto Rican fish made on this occasion have been beautifully reproduced lithographically by Julius Bien & Co., and will in due time be published by the Commission. A curious chapter on sturgeon fishing in Delaware River and Bay concludes the present report.

The Fifth Annual Report of the Chief Fire Warden of Minnesota (St. Paul) has its moral for communities which either entirely neg-

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lect forest conservancy, or pass laws that instantly become dead letters. It is exceptionally well illustrated with process cuts from nature, and makes a strong appeal for a Government Park at Cass Lake. The bulk of the report consists of data concerning European forestry.

A belief has prevailed since ancient times that some trees are more liable to be struck by lightning than others. Extensive investigations have recently been made in Germany with regard to this subject, and the reports, covering a period of seventeen years, present very extraordinary results. The field under survey was the forestry district of Lippe, containing mainly beeches, pines, and oaks, with a sprinkling of larches, poplars, etc. In the course of these seventeen years, about 375 trees were struck by lightning. Of this number, fully two-thirds were oaks, although barely more than one-tenth of the forest tract was made up of that kind of growth. While the beech trees covered a greater area than all the other trees combined, only one-fourteenth of the total numbers of trees struck were beeches. The larches and poplars were relatively great sufferers. It appears to be settled that trees rich in oil enjoy comparative immunity. The presence of dead limbs in the crown of the tree seems to increase the danger from lightning.

The Prussian revised orthography, introduced in 1880, and generally known as the Puttkamer system, has, as appears from a recent circular of the Association of German Book Publishers, gained a remarkable headway over other systems. Of 613 firms which sent in reports, 406 have in all their publications adopted this system, 58 employ only the old, 141 make use of both, while only 8 have the Austrian. Of the 141 using both, 59 state that they use the old only by way of exception, 30 use the old nearly altogether, while 52 employ both promiscuously. The report states that fully five-sixths of all the book publications and three-fifths of the periodicals in Germany are now printed in the orthography of 1880, and uniformity is evidently a question of only a comparatively short time. The most serious hindrance is still the disinclination on the part of officials to adopt the innovation. The great bulk of the political papers have long since given in to it. What expense attends the introduction of a new system of orthography can be seen from the experience of a single firm, which reports the cost of changing the stereotype plates of its various dictionaries to harmonize with the new system at 700,000 marks.

No recent achievement in spectroscopic astronomy has attracted greater attention than the brilliant series of discoveries of binary stars whose components are so close together, apparently, that they can never be observed optically by ordinary means. Capella, the brightest star in Auriga, is among those luminaries whose duplicity has lately been detected by Professor Newall of Cambridge, England, with the fine spectroscope given by the late Miss Bruce, in conjunction with the 25-inch refractor built by Cooke of York. Early in the present year, Mr. Newall having called the Astronomer Royal's attention to the possibility of securing measures of this binary by means of the micrometer, as in the case of optical binary systems, his assistants, Mr. Dyson and Mr. Lewis, began examination of it with the 28-inch refractor at Greenwich on April 4. Both observers agreed that the star was slightly elongated, to the extent of a tenth second of arc, and quite appreciable. Subsequently it was examined on every available night by several observers, who, in spite of the naturally delicate character of the observation, have secured a series of measures which give an orbit for the binary agreeing well with the spectroscopic period of 104 days. The detailed measures have been published in the *Monthly Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society for June, and they are still in continuance at Greenwich. Capella thus takes the far lead of all optical binaries for rapidity of revolution.

—The *Century* for September has an antiquarian article on "Troglodyte Dwellings in Cappadocia," by Prof. J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, illustrated with drawings by Harry Fenn, after photographs by the author. Professor Sterrett traces the "cones of Cappadocia," and the fact of their having been used as human dwellings, to "the dim distant Hittite period, at about 1900 B. C." But, anthropologically, the record seems to be mainly marked by want of continuity; the present cone villages having little apparent connection with the primitive troglodytes, who sometimes wore skins, and sometimes went naked, and were so irrational as to imagine cattle and sheep to be their parents, and practised free love and euthanasia. Père Didon, the liberal priest and preacher, who died the other day, is made the subject of a sketch by "Th. Bentzon," accompanied by an engraving of what looks like a good portrait. It seems that no biography has yet appeared. Of his devotion to liberality in education and his conception of a teacher's duties, Mme. Blanc gives an interesting example. His weak point consisted in a morbid desire to let everybody know that he was "in the swim"—a consequence of the self-consciousness, or "hypertrophy of the *me*," which Marie Bashkirtseff discovered in him at first sight. The third paper of William Mason's "Memories of a Musical Life" is more entertaining than the first two. It contains a great deal about Liszt, and makes an interesting picture of him. Mr. Mason gives a curious report of the first interview between Liszt and Brahms. All other accounts—of which there have been several—are, he says, inaccurate. It seems that Brahms was so nervous that he could not play, upon which Liszt took up a rather illegible manuscript composition of Brahms, and played it at sight, to the great delight and amazement of the composer. A little later, some one asked Liszt to play something of his own—a request which he proceeded to comply with. In the most interesting portion of the performance, casting a glance at his visitor, Liszt found that the latter was dozing in his chair. Liszt played the sonata through, and then left the room. This account is corroborated by a still living witness. In an article on "The Influence of the Western World on China," Dr. D. L. Sheffield, President of the North China College of the American Board at Tung-Chau, discusses the Chinese question, but, to our mind, fails to throw much light on it. He wants England and America to announce to the world that they will "conserve the integrity" and "promote the reformation" of China, but he does not seem to understand that this means a protectorate of the most responsible character, and therefore that no reasonable man will listen to the suggestion, unless it is clearly proved why we should undertake such a burden. Dr. Sheffield's reasons seem to be that there is a great deal of trade with China, and that a few of the natives have been converted to Christianity. It is an article, for missionary consumption, which is calculated to make the ungodly laugh, and the heathen, if any fall in with it, to imagine a vain thing.

—The leading article in the *Atlantic* is a paper on "The American Boss," by Francis C. Lowell, who undertakes to analyze the causes which produce him. The writer protests against being drawn into any discussion of whether the Boss ought or ought not to be. He *is;* what causes him to exist? The answer given by Judge Lowell is not original; it has been given in substance many times before. In party politics machinery is needed; the operation of machinery requires men. These men must be paid; the Boss is the man who pays them. The argument is reinforced by the consideration that the "machine" in this case is itself a congeries of associations of human beings, acting together for certain ends, such as deliberating, voting, and nominating, or selecting others to transact such matters for them; and in competition with another machine of the same sort, the work of which it seeks continuously and zealously to upset. (This is our very inadequate paraphrase of an elaborate analysis.) The defect which we find in the article is that it wholly fails at the point where the title led us to look for light, viz., in explaining why the Boss is so peculiarly American. The *Boss Americanus* is found in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and some other centres of population; but no specimen of the species has been described by naturalists in London, or Liverpool, where party politics are just as rife, or even in the South American republics, where corruption is rife enough, if that were all. One explanation would be connected with our nominating system, wholly different in this country from any other. It is odd, by the way, to find the late Mr. John Forbes invoked in aid of the scientific inevitableness of the Boss system. The requirements of partisan machinery, as he understood and explained them, belonged to a period before the present Boss system began. Magarethe Müller contributes an article on Gerhart Hauptmann, in the course of which the writer has something to say about Nietzsche and Sudermann. She insists upon a connection between these young German writers and such foreigners as Zola, Taine, Ibsen, and Tolstoi; but the bond of union between such various and divergent geniuses is a little too like that which makes us all sinners in the fall of Adam. If all the magazine articles of this sort which have been written on modern literary movements and their authors could be got together, they would present a wonderful farrago of theories and philosophies.

—"Submarine Torpedo-Boats" is the subject of an article in *Harper's* by William W. Kimball; it is illustrated by H. Reuterdahl from sketches made on the *Holland* "while running under the surface and above." The conclusions reached by the writer are that, "with properly manned submarines in the defensive, blockades cannot be held nor bombardments effected," and "in attacking ports they will be useful in countermining the protecting mines,

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and in entering unseen to destroy ships, dry-docks, and buildings." Thus far they have been of no practical use, for the Confederate torpedo-boat which sunk the *Housatonic* off Charleston, though designed to work as a submarine, made her attack as a surface boat, and then went down with her crew, "as any successful torpedo-boat may expect to do." France, it seems, has grasped the idea of the importance of the new type, and has a dozen submarines on her naval register, and has provided for thirty-eight all told. When her coast is entirely protected by them, "she will be able to send her whole cruising fleet" to attack the enemy elsewhere. But then, it may be added, the enemy will be equally able, under similar circumstances, to do the same thing. Congress has authorized the construction of five more boats of the Holland type. The article is that of an enthusiast; there are critics who still say that there are too many difficulties in the way —the difficulty of keeping long under water, of steering, of light, air, etc. "The Teuton Tug of War" is the title of a belated article of Julian Ralph's, on the war in South Africa, and is dated "Bloemfontein, April 19." His account of the Boers is that they are an incorrigible set of savages—always lying, because they do not "know or like to tell the truth," full of treachery and cruelty. Apparently they are deserving only of extermination like vermin. His account differs so essentially from that of Mr. Selous, who lived among the Boers for twenty years, and who found them a kind, amiable, generous, and hospitable people, and did not notice their propensity to lie, that the two accounts might profitably be compared. The article recalls articles descriptive of the "Yanks" by Southerners, forty years since, and of English descriptions, in war time, of French, Germans, and other foreign tribes. There is really a striking analogy between Mr. Ralph's account of the moral character of the Boers and that given by our Jingoes of the Filipinos.

—The recognized graded division of falsehoods into lies, condemned lies, and statistics leads one to approach very warily collections of the third, whether political or sociological. But, however difficult of correlation, these may include curious facts; and such are found in a quarto Mortality Report of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, covering fifty-six years, to include 1898, and embracing 46,525 deaths. Of these only 1,540 were of women, so that the report, prepared by the Medical Directors, Drs. Marsh and White, and published by the company, is that of the deaths of 45,000 selected adult males. These cannot be employed to illustrate deaths at the same ages in the country at large, for the policy-holders were selected medically, and represent a more conservative and thoughtful class of the community. Among these the general mortality rate does not increase with age as rapidly as one might suppose. Thus, the death rate under 45 years is 30 per cent., but that from 45 to 60 is only 33 per cent. of the whole. A feature not usually appreciated is that while the general mortality increases, the causes of that mortality are very different at one age from those of another. Thus, the percentage of the entire mortality from typhoid to the total mortality was 3.94; but while in those under 25 years of age it was 18.45, in those from 25 to 29 inclusive it was 15.43; and it gradually decreased to .10. The percentage of deaths from heart diseases under 25 years was 1.15, but from 65 to 69 years it was over 18.05. Casualties show a quinquennial decrease from 15.98 to 1.57. Hence there are easily calculated curves of increasing immunity and increasing risk. Tubercular disease (roughly classed as consumption), notwithstanding the presumed exclusive effect of the medical examination, caused 28.01 of the total deaths under 25, and 33.06 of those from 25 to 29 years. Within the last ten years, however, there has been a decided decrease in the mortality from consumption at all ages, and, as this is strongly marked in very mature years as well as in earlier life, more careful physical examination cannot claim the entire credit for the gain. The largest number of such deaths occurs between 35 and 40 years of age, and the highest rate is between 25 and 30; upon which the authors remark that "these numbers do not represent the true relation of the disease to the age periods, for the excessive number of deaths at that period may and probably does represent merely an excess of the number of lives at risk." The deaths from consumption, even among the selected adults who make up the constituency of the company, are more than one in eight of the whole. The alleged increase of cancer is a topic of frequent discussion in professional and other intelligent circles. There is no doubt that the recorded deaths from that disease in tables of general mortality show a steady increase. In an attempt to throw some light on the subject, one table compares year by year for the last twenty years the deaths from cancer with the deaths from all causes in an age group of 50-70 years. The age restriction is used to prevent error that might occur were an excess of young or old persons introduced in either column. The percentage rises from 4.23 in 1879 to 7.59 in 1898, and in a general although not uniform way the increase is gradual year by year. Notwithstanding this increase of 3.36 per cent., the authors are of opinion that it can best be accounted for by greater accuracy of diagnosis. This is a compliment to the discrimination of the faculty at the expense of its clinical efficiency.

—During the past ten years Major Martin Hume has, by the publication of numerous books, associated his name with the study of Spanish history. However, his volume on 'Modern Spain' in the "Story of the Nations" series (Putnams) brings him into contact with a period which he has previously left untouched. Although issued by a different publisher, this work should be considered in connection with the work on Spain which Major Hume contributed to the Cambridge "Modern History" series. The one extended from the Emperor Charles V. (Charles I. of Spain) to Charles III.; the other begins with the death of Charles III. and reaches the present day. It seems rather a pity that, for the sake of convenience, the two volumes should not have come from the same publisher's office. The acquaintance which Major Hume shows with the later period of Spanish history does not suffer by comparison with his writings on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Members of his family fought in the Peninsular War, and he has heard their stories. "Near relatives of my own were among the victims of the despotism of Fernando, and expiated in prison and exile their adhesion to the cause of the Constitution. . . . At a later period my own observation commenced, and, as a keenly interested spectator and friend of many of the chief actors, I witnessed most of the stirring scenes recounted in these pages from the revolution of 1868 up to the death of Alfonso XII." Major Hume has no belief in the theory that arbitrary government is the proper solution of Spain's political difficulties. Despite the country's calamities since the beginning of the century, he perceives an upward tendency. He considers Spain "the most naturally democratic country in Europe. 'Hurrah for chains!' will be heard no more, and a return to the days of Fernando, or even of Isabel II., is as impossible now as a return to the despotism of the Philips." Among national leaders, Marshal Prim is Major Hume's favorite, "the only really great Spaniard that the century has produced." The same sympathy with Constitutional freedom is shown in the account of Amadeo of Savoy, and his short reign. Major Hume always writes in a bright and nimble strain. His 'Modern Spain' is an example of the good "popular history."

—The brilliant array of names on the title-page of a volume of addresses, 'Discours aux Étudiants' (Paris: Colin), delivered before the General Association of Students in Paris since its foundation, sixteen years ago, will attract readers who would otherwise not be interested in a book of this kind. Who would not like to know what men like Renan, Pasteur, Jules Simon, Puvis de Chavannes, Jules Ferry, Emilio Castelar, to group together those of the speakers no longer among the living, have to say to young men of twenty or twenty-two? And poets and novelists like Anatole France, Sully-Prudhomme, De Vogüé, Zola, or statesmen like Casimir-Périer and Loubet, also, are not likely to indulge in mere lecture-room oratory. The volume is not free from tedious repetitions, and a superabundance of well-meant counsel is crowded, *e. g.*, into the several discourses of M. Lavisse; but most of the speeches are brief, and the personal note, strongly marked in most of them, is by no means unpleasant. Puvis de Chavannes needs less than two hundred words to acquit himself as President at one of the annual banquets of the Association. Pasteur, on the occasion of his jubilee (December 27, 1892), spoke scarcely more than ten minutes, and another time had to excuse himself after a few remarks to hasten to the "Institute," where poor pilgrims from Russia were waiting to be cured from the bite of a rabid wolf. Renan, of all others, quotes the *Gaudeamus igitur*, and advises the members of the Association to work hard and amuse themselves, confessing, however, that the suggestion, on his part, is "rather theoretical," since he himself has followed only the first half of it. In matters of politics, he hardly knows what to advise, being "a sort of legitimist" who, on the establishment of a new régime, waits a half-score years for the Government to become legitimate, when he finds that it is just about ready to "pack up." But these inimitable passages must be read in the original (pp. 20 ff.). Besides Renan's, the most enjoyable addresses, perhaps, among the thirty-five, are those delivered by Jules Simon and Castelar at the latter's reception, in 1889, in the amphitheatre of the new Sorbonne (pp. 333-342). By a strange coincidence the genial Frenchman

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had once before, on a state occasion in the Escurial, been called upon to speak when the assembled guests were really anxious to hear the illustrious Spaniard. Reminding his friend Castelar, with felicitous appropriateness, of that event, he quotes his former speech: "Very well, I will make a speech: Gentlemen, I yield the floor to M. Castelar." And, he assures the audience, his success was enormous, "c'est mon plus grand triomphe oratoire." We should like to quote other passages from the volume, some witty, others serious. There is Zola's generous confession: "I have already regretted having been a sectarian, in insisting that art should confine itself to demonstrated truths. The new-comers have reopened the horizon by reconquering the unknown, the mysterious; and they have done well." Then, there are aphorisms, nuggets of thought, scattered throughout the book which more than make up for occasional commonplaces and empty rhetoric.

THE WELSH PEOPLE.

The Welsh People: Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics. By John Rhŷs, M.A., Principal of Jesus College, and Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; and David Brynmor-Jones, LL.B., Bencher of the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, Queen's Counsel, and Member of Parliament. With two maps. The Macmillan Co. 1900.

This is by all odds the most important treatise that has yet appeared on the history and antiquities of Wales. Until a very recent period, Welsh archæology was almost entirely given over to worthy enthusiasts, blissfully ignorant alike of history and philology; and things were solemnly written about the Bards and about Brutus which can be paralleled for absurdity only from the "literature" of Freemasonry. But the progress, on the one hand, of Celtic philology among German and French scholars, and on the other of mediæval constitutional studies in England among what may in a sense be spoken of as the school of Stubbs, was sure after a time to remedy this state of things. On the philological side, the way has been led by Prof. Rhŷs, the occupant of the one chair of Celtic in a British university. Among those who have followed him, Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans deserves especial mention as having at last supplied us with editions of important Welsh texts which are up to the modern level of critical scholarship. And on the historical side, much has been done by the competent knowledge and sober judgment of Professor Tout, among others, in the series of lives with which he has enriched the Dictionary of National Biography. But no attempt has been made before the present volume to take stock of these new acquisitions; and it is because this does so that it will be indispensable to the Celtic student, and deserves a place in the public library of every American town which numbers any considerable Welsh population among its citizens.

It came into existence in an odd way. It may be remembered that the Liberal Government which took office in 1892 was dependent upon a small and somewhat insecure Parliamentary majority. Under these circumstances, the Radical members returned by Wales, forming, as they did at that time, almost the whole of the representation of the principality, organized themselves for the first time as a distinct Welsh party, and proceeded in season, and (as some other Liberals thought) out of season also, to urge their claims upon the Government, threatening in no obscure terms to withdraw their support if they were not listened to. There had for some time been a vigorous nationalist movement in progress in Wales, taking the forms primarily of an increased interest in the Welsh language and of efforts for the establishment of Welsh colleges; and of late there had arisen an agrarian agitation, following, though indeed *longo intervallo*, the lines of that which had been so successful in Ireland. Accordingly, in 1893, the Liberal Government appointed a Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire, only too happy to be able to do anything quite so easy. Let us add that neither this nor the establishment of a Welsh university satisfied the Welsh party in the House of Commons; that it insisted on the introduction of a bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and thereby contributed its share towards bringing the Liberal party into the uncomfortable position in which it finds itself at present.

When the Commission reported in August, 1896, the Liberal Government had fallen from power, and the recommendations of the Commissioners received but little attention. Their Report contained learned chapters on Welsh philology and on early land tenure; the former evidently from the pen of Professor Rhŷs, and the latter by Mr. Frederic Seebohm, the distinguished writer on agrarian history, who had joined the Commission with the hope of finding new material for his investigations. It contained also accounts of the ecclesiastical and educational history of Wales during the last two centuries, and of rural life among the Welsh farmers of to-day, which were doubtless contributed by another Commissioner, Mr. Brynmor-Jones, one of the leaders of the Welsh Parliamentary party. There was some force in the criticism that, interesting as this matter was, much of it had no appreciable bearing on the problems immediately before the Commission, and that it would find a more appropriate place in a separate volume. Moreover, in spite of the low prices at which British blue-books are obtainable, a blue-book is the last place in which one would publish anything for which one wanted to secure general attention. Professor Rhŷs and Mr. Brynmor-Jones have seen the force, at any rate, of this latter consideration, and in the present substantial volume they have reprinted the historical and descriptive portion of the Report. But they have taken the opportunity to add to them a series of elaborate dissertations on the Pictish question, on Roman Britain, and on ancient laws and customs, together with three chapters on Welsh history—from Cadwaladr to the Norman Conquest, from 1066 to 1282, and from 1282 to the time of the Stuarts. A good deal more than one-half, therefore, of the 648 pages forming the volume before us is altogether new.

The circumstances of its origin, and its composite authorship, will explain the extreme differences of style between the several parts of the book. The later chapters, on the social conditions of to-day, are plain sailing enough for the ordinary reader, though addressed so completely, if quite unconsciously, to a Welsh audience as to need an occasional word of explanation; as, for instance, in the use of the term "cause" for a dissenting religious society (see pp. 462, 470, 473, 477), to which dictionary-makers will please attend. The earlier chapters, on the other hand, are, if anything, a little too severely scholarly. The "Note to the Reader" ends with the remark that "where the two last syllables of a word have been run into one in the more modern stages of the Welsh language, the word is, of course, a perispomenon." We should like to know how many readers of ordinary cultivation this statement conveys any information. The two words might not unfairly be regarded as typical: the whole volume oscillates between "cause" and "perispomenon."

In the space at our disposal we cannot attempt to criticise the chapters devoted to the mediæval "political" history of Wales. These 267 pages must be regarded as a quarry wherefrom some future historian who has an eye for the salient points, and knows how to present them, will be able to extract and set forth in pages of one-tenth that number all that any reader except the specialist will ever care to remember. We must content ourselves in this place with some observations, first, on the ethnology of Wales; secondly, on Welsh land tenures; and, thirdly, on the present condition of the country.

As to the ethnology of Wales, our authors assert emphatically what has long been known to be Professor Rhŷs's opinion, and was expressed by him a good many years ago in the short-lived *Princeton Review*, viz., that anthropologically, "on the whole, the Welsh of the present day are not Aryan," though they have learned to speak an Aryan tongue. "The Aryan element forms, as it were, a mere sprinkling among them."

> "If a competent ethnologist were to be sent round Wales to identify the individual men and women who seemed to him to approach what he should consider the Aryan type, his report would probably go to show that he found comparatively few such people, and that these few belonged chiefly to the old families of the land-owning class; the vast majority he would only label as probably not Celtic, not Aryan."

The race history of Wales as here constructed is as follows. The aborigines of Britain were non-Aryan. Until evidence is found to the contrary, it will be "a waste of conjecture" to regard them as belonging to more than one race; and this race is represented probably by the Picts of history. Some time about the sixth century B.C. came the first wave of Celtic migration—that of the Goidels (Gaels)—and overran most of the southern half of England. They probably made slaves of the subjugated population, and in process of time a mixed race came into existence, in which the præ-Aryan blood greatly preponderated, though the aboriginal language had disappeared. Then, in the second century B.C. or thereabouts, arrived the second Celtic swarm, that of the Brythons (the Britons proper); and these conquered from the Goidels most of the country which the latter had conquered previously from the aborigines. Among other districts, they took possession of Mid-Wales, leaving North and South Wales to the Goidels. Finally, soon after the Romans left Britain, a Brythonic chieftain named Cunedda came with a band of followers from the North, where he had apparently been defending the Roman wall, and brought practically the whole of what is now Wales under Brythonic rule; thus creating "the

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political framework of Wales under the aspect which it presents to the historian of the Norman Conquest." The Goidelic dialect may have survived as late as the seventh century in parts of the country; but though the Brythonic dialect took its place, Brythonic blood was very scantily infused into the people anywhere except in Mid-Wales, and everywhere the aboriginal stock continued to form the bulk of the population. If any indignant Welshman is inclined to take umbrage at these conclusions, he may be consoled by the remark of our author that, "taken in the bulk," the people of France are similarly of non-Aryan descent. And lest the "Anglo-Saxon" should exult, he may be reminded that, according to the same authority, "the average Englishman is at most not much more Aryan than the average Welshman."

The chapter on land tenure was written in "greater part" by Mr. Seebohm, as has been already noticed, and it is republished here with his consent. It would have been convenient if the editors had indicated precisely those portions which were added by other hands; but, as Mr. Seebohm signed the Report as a whole, he may be held to have accepted the entire chapter, and for brevity's sake one may speak of it as his work throughout. It is a contribution of the utmost interest to the economic history of Great Britain. Mr. Seebohm begins by a brief and well-written statement of the conclusions as to "tribal" land tenure prior to the Anglo-Norman conquest, which he has already given to the world, five years ago, in his 'Tribal Community in Wales.' Readers of that book will remember the sharp distinction which Mr. Seebohm there draws between (1) the joint occupation of land by undivided kindreds, the *gwely* or *progenies*, characteristic, as he believes, of the free tribesmen, who are described in thirteenth-century Extents as *libere tenentes* or free-holders; and (2) the *register land* of non-tribesmen, non-Cymry, described in the same documents as *villani* or serfs. That much of the land was held in the thirteenth century by these *gwelys* is evident enough; but neither Mr. Seebohm nor the editor (who in other chapters builds largely on his conclusions) has quite overcome the difficulties which arise when these joint tenancies are sought to be connected with the rules of succession found in the Welsh Codes. Mr. Seebohm speaks of "the ordinary tribesman" as "prospectively and by possibility" succeeding to the headship of a *gwely* (p. 399). But if, as he holds, the *gwely* arose from the operation of a rule according to which no final division of an inheritance took place until the fourth generation, the ordinary tribesman could not succeed to the headship unless he was the great-grandson of a *gwely* founder. It is hard to believe that the very symmetrical *gwelys* and *gavels* revealed by the thirteenth-century documents could have been the result of the operation of such a rule of inheritance working through centuries; it looks much more as if the territorial units had become more or less stereotyped at an early period.

What is more novel and probably more valuable is the account which Mr. Seebohm now goes on to give of the transition from mediæval to modern conditions, a transition effected mainly at the end of the sixteenth century. We do not know whether Mr. Seebohm was expected to give his blessing as a historian to the agrarian movement. Certainly we recall a paper of his on "The Historical Claims of Tenant-Right" which was frequently invoked in the early stages of the Irish farmers' agitation. But Mr. Seebohm gives no such countenance to like demands in the case of Wales:

"The present year-to-year tenants of Wales cannot claim to be the direct descendants of the ancient Welsh free tribesmen. The successors in title of these are still paying their ancient and now trifling quitrents. That more of them have not survived is owing to natural causes, and, perhaps more than all, to their having enjoyed for centuries, like English copyholders, the right of selling their holdings in the open market. On the other hand, if some of the present year-to-year tenants are the successors of the ancient non-tribesmen or *nativi* (serfs), then the most probable general conclusion seems to be that their ancestors have passed through various vicissitudes, out of which, through stages of leases for lives or years (which for some reason were not renewed), they have passed into the position of year-to-year tenants" (p. 437).

It might be made an historical grievance that the descendants of the early serf population did not succeed in obtaining complete security of tenure in the shape of long leases renewable on the payment of moderate "fines." But Mr. Seebohm makes no such suggestion, apparently because year-to-year tenancy has practically meant permanence. The actual result has been one which a whole school of social politicians is wont to regard as the most desirable, the retention of the "peasantry" upon the land.

"Many causes have combined in producing and afterwards perpetuating what is the marked and peculiar feature of rural economy in Wales, viz., the prevalence of a large number of small separate farms of what may be described as the peasant and family type. So that, on the one hand, the year-to-year tenancy in Wales has not become generally associated as in England with the system of large farms of the more commercial type, nor, on the other hand, has it been associated, as in Ireland and the crofter districts of Scotland, with that excessive subdivision and subletting which leads to the congestion of the rural population upon holdings too small to maintain the occupiers."

We should like to know to what Mr. Seebohm would attribute the difference especially as between Wales and Ireland. As between Wales and England, the explanation is to be found, we imagine, chiefly in the character of the soil and climate, which render tillage-farming on a large scale impracticable. And it may be remarked in passing that the value of this volume would have been greatly enhanced if its authors had given us more information about the physical features of the country so far as they affect farming. There is probably no institution in Great Britain in which agrarian conditions are studied from the point of view of the economist, as they are in half-a-dozen German universities; and the result is that, in a book like this, there is an almost complete dearth of that information which any serious student of the rural economy of Wales should certainly first ask for.

The chapters which come at the end of the book and sketch the present position of affairs, will be of moving interest to Welshmen who have left their native land, and will in some measure enable the non-Welshman to understand the singularly instructive problem of Welsh nationalism. The limitations of the Commissioners' original task justified the omission from their Report of any account of the large industrial and mining population growing up in the North and the South, especially around Cardiff and Swansea. But the omission from this volume is evidently significant: it is in the farming population that the spirit of nationality survives most vigorously, and it is commercial and industrial influences which most endanger it. The Welsh language is spoken by about a million people, and half a million know no other tongue. It is even gaining ground as a second speech, for it is becoming as fashionable as a few years ago it was unfashionable for the landowning gentry to have their children taught Welsh. This, as our authors remark, cannot but tend to greater sympathy between social classes. A serious disadvantage which has hitherto followed from the ignorance of English on the part of half a million of the people is, that they have remained in large measure unaware of the benefits secured for them by English legislation.

"The most prevalent instance under this head was the ignorance, well-nigh universal in some districts, as to the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act, and the Ground Game Act. Almost all the tenant farmers in the Welsh-speaking districts believed that these acts . . . could be totally excluded by means of the contracting out clause. . . . In most districts the act of 1883 was for all practical purposes a dead letter."

But these "ameliorative provisions," as our authors call them, "have of recent years altered in a considerable degree the relationship of landlord and tenants"; and we are perhaps not far wrong when we conjecture that, if they had been generally known, the agrarian agitation in Wales would never have been serious enough to attract the attention of Parliament. The difficulty can, of course, be overcome by the adoption of the common-sense and inexpensive practice of issuing from the Government Printing-Office Welsh versions of all documents likely to be of interest to any considerable number of the people. This is what every little nationality in the civilized world properly insists on—from the French of Quebec to the Flemings of Belgium.

One last observation. The sense of irritation, undoubtedly felt more keenly by the Welsh peasant of late years, must be regarded—so our authors' statements seem to indicate—not as the result of greater physical distress, for the standard of living is everywhere slowly rising, but as the result of the growth of what is commonly called democratic sentiment. The people will not be patronized by the gentry any more; and, with the barrier, not only of language, but also of religion, between churchgoing landlord and chapelgoing tenant, it is natural enough that offence should often be taken where none is intended. Wales has of late years been provided with an excellent system of secondary and collegiate education; and this, together with the further development of industry and trade, may be expected to soften in time some of the sharp lines of social classification. The gentry, if they are to maintain their influence, must learn, as their brethren in England are learning, to act as leaders of the people through the new democratic organization of local government, rather than as rulers. And perhaps it is not past praying for that even the Anglican clergy in Wales may acquire some of that power of acting with people, instead of for

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them, which their fellows have learned in their work in the great cities of England.

A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity; or Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from Pre-Prophetic Times to the Close of the New Testament Canon. Being the Jowett Lectures for 1898-99. By R. H. Charles, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. 1899. Pp. x+428.

This book is an expansion of the article on Eschatology which will appear in the next volume of Cheyne's 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' and, in part, of the article on the Eschatology of the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature which has already appeared in the Hastings Bible Dictionary. The title, if lengthy, gives a fair idea of what is attempted in the book; the accomplished fact must be confessed to be somewhat sketchy and unsatisfactory. In the space assigned, hardly anything else would be possible, and, also, while Professor Charles is an acknowledged authority of the first rank in Jewish Apocrypha and Apocalypses, his insight is less keen and his touch less certain in dealing with the Old and New Testaments.

The plan of the book is undoubtedly excellent. The stress lies throughout on development and the historical context. The tangled threads are picked out patiently and skilfully. The merging into one of varying ideas, and the separating again of that unity into variety—the movement of the Hegelian dialectic—is traced conscientiously. It is the whole development, too, which we have here; there is no gap from Malachi to Matthew. Prophecy passes into Apocalyptic, and from the soil of Apocalyptic spring the ideas of Christianity filled with its new moral and spiritual life. Why a sketch of primitive Greek eschatology, in which Rohde's 'Psyche' is mostly followed, should be introduced, is not so evident. It is interesting in its parallelism with the older Hebrew ideas, but so far as direct influence is concerned, sketches of the Mazdean, the Egyptian, and the Greek philosophical systems would have been equally in place. The grounds for this inclusion suggested on p. 136 are hardly adequate.

It is impossible in our space to trace in any detail Professor Charles's view of the development. It is "critical"—a word fast becoming almost as beatific as Mesopotamia; which means that it is an honest attempt to get down to the fundamental facts and to state them objectively. The question is not put, Are such and such views correct? but, Are these the views once held as correct? Professor Charles himself is a close follower of Professor Cheyne, though the vacillations—or rapid advances, as you choose—of his guide sometimes land him in painful uncertainty between Philip drunk and Philip sober. Yet he lays stress more than once on the provisional character of many of the results of Old Testament criticism, and in that he is wise. His statements of the varying views of different scholars show how much is still to be done, and his own statements are commendably free from that dogmatism which too often exalts the chance idea of the moment into the perfect chrysolite of fact. The starting-point is the Exodus, and an outline is given of the primitive conception of God and the development of that conception. As is rightly pointed out, such a basis is essential for the eschatological ideas proper; that Yahwé's lordship did not at first extend over Sheol, conditioned all the after development. For centuries the ideas of the people of Israel were drawn from pure Semitic heathenism, and the revealed religion of Yahwé—Professor Charles is emphatic that Yahwism was not a mere natural development—had little effect on them. They were due to ancestor worship; and even after the long conflict with true Yahwism was long over, they lingered in stray details till the final destruction of Jerusalem. Thus we have the one thread, the more or less active future of the individual in Sheol. This was gradually destroyed by Yahwism, which first reduced the existence in Sheol to a mere subsistence, and then began to develop its own doctrine, and an individual future through the consciousness of an immediate communion with God. The other main thread was the conception of the immortality of the nation in the Messianic kingdom. The synthesis of the hopes of the individual and of the nation resulted, in the third century B. C., in the doctrine of the resurrection. In the first century B. C., the hope of an eternal Messianic kingdom was abandoned and only an extreme individualism was left. But in Christianity a new synthesis appears—this time of the individual and the race, not of the individual and the nation.

Such, in short, is the development. Special attention may be drawn to the two views of Sheol, heathen and Yahwistic—a fruitful distinction. With this go the varying conceptions of body, soul, and spirit in trichotomy and in dichotomy. Further, to the influence, or rather non-influence, of Greek religious ideas, and the isolated influence of Mazdeism. Professor Charles speaks weightily on both these points. As he traces it, the uniqueness of the religious development in Israel and of the final synthesis and culmination in Christianity stands out with force and clearness. On p. 214 there is an interesting note on the Messianic meaning of the phrase "Son of Man" in Ethiopic. The treatment of the New Testament circle of ideas is unfortunately very slight, yet the four stages of Paul's development are firmly outlined.

Criticism of the book must either be very incisive or can apply only to details. To many, the impersonal attitude of the writer will be a stumbling-block. He tells what this book says and what that prophet taught, but not what is Catholic truth. This applies even to the words of Jesus; on p. 331 we are told that an expectation of his was falsified. *Yet through it all there plays illusively* a recognition by Professor Charles of a special revelation, and our question might come to be, Of what? The book is "a critical history," but the attitude will worry the plain man.

For the criticism of details, we have little space left. On pp. 56 and 155 the term "translation" is applied rather bluntly to the vanishing from human ken of Enoch and Elijah. We use that word with a connotation of theological ideas; what ideas did the Hebrews connect with those two events? Especially if we say that Enoch and Elijah were "translated to heaven," we are going too far. Enoch "was not to be found; for God took him"; Elijah was carried up into the sky—that is all we are told, and all the Hebrews were told. What did they think when they heard or read those things? That is the problem. Again, there may have been a well-defined doctrine of immortality in Job's day; it would not have availed a whit to have solved his problem. He would still have flung the causeless deaths of his children, his own unmerited sufferings, and all the misery of the world in the face of the Almighty; such things, no happiness to come could have blotted out. Or, rather, till the mystery of pain was solved, he could have no happiness here or there. What he demanded was an answer to that question and a vindication of his own innocence. Again, to say that the writer of Ecclesiastes "fell back on unbelief and materialism" (p. 72), is too general an expression. He is an absolute, if we cannot say a devout, theist throughout. On p. 73 it might have been worth while to mention that Wellhausen also does not recognize any allusion to a doctrine of immortality in Psalms xlix. and lxxiii. As a final and infinitesimal detail, we note the most curious use on pp. 162 and 204 of "tory" in the sense "conservative." "The still orthodox and tory view found in the Old Testament," reads very queerly indeed.

We look some time for a very much better book on this subject from Professor Charles; he may even in the future be disposed to think that he has published too hastily. But we receive the first-fruits with gratitude, both for its own sake and as an earnest of what is to come.

History of Enfield, Conn., 1679-1850. By Francis Olcott Allen. Vol. I. Philadelphia: The Author. 1900.

If an "apology" were needed for compiling a local history, the fact that three large volumes could be evolved from the annals of one Connecticut town would be sufficient justification. Mr. Allen's 'History of Enfield,' now in process of publication, is a labor of love and of grateful remembrance for the home and State of his ancestors. He has successfully pursued a high ideal—"a complete transcript of all its [Enfield's] official data which would be studied by succeeding generations with increasing veneration for the Founders." These data comprise attested copies of the "Acts and Grants of the Enfield Proprietors' Committee," of land surveys and lay-outs, of town acts and votes from 1693 to 1850. This exhaustive copying is more valuable from the very imperfect character of many of the early entries, making them practically inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Enfield is fortunate in having an absent son with taste, time, and means for such a laborious and costly outlay.

This remarkable array of contemporaneous record is happily prefaced by a general "Historical Sketch of the Town of Enfield," prepared in 1829 by another of its loyal sons, John Chauncey Pease, M.D., enabling us to view the town in progressive stages of development, and from the standpoint of a past generation. The summary of conditions at the close of the town's first century is especially valuable for comparing past and present. Mr. Allen's preference for a "complete transcript of official data," in place of treating salient features in the town's history, limits the reader to literal

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facts; yet these bare records give ample proof of the poverty of the age and the difficulties attending settlement and expansion. A spirit of neighborly accommodation was early manifested: "Ye Committee laboring ye best they can to sute and accomadate those that first appeare to settle there, And when a man lys bad in ye first field to indeavor to mend him in ye Next." So, also, in excusing settlers from fencing in "all their house lot, which will be hard at first beginning and may be a while indulged." Town meetings for a time were much occupied with devising laws for the collection and protection of turpentine, persons presuming "to gitt it upon any pretense whatsoever to be warned out of town," and if persisting in trespass, "the selectmen to size al this tirpetine so goten for the yous of the town." The perverse ingenuity of the Enfield spelling was remarkable even for those days. Land was reserved for school as well as for ministerial purposes, but no schoolmaster was hired till 1707.

Enfield was settled by emigrants from Massachusetts, and was held by that province till 1749. Dr. Pease characterizes its "secession" as "very remarkable" and "not sufficiently explained"; but dissatisfaction with existing conditions was shown at an early date. The town twice, at least, "by a close voat, doe yeld themselves to be under conettecoat thir government," and ordered "a list of yr Estates" to be given "to harford cort." Its loyalty to Massachusetts was manifested, however, by prompt obedience to military requisition, Enfield sending a large band of young men upon the Cape Breton expedition of 1745, of whom nineteen perished from disease and exposure.

The remaining volumes of this exhaustive history will comprise records of deeds, churches, probate courts, births, marriages, deaths, graveyard inscriptions, etc., etc. They will doubtless include sketches of Enfield's unique Shaker settlement, and of the development of its large manufacturing interests, and of all that is needful for a "complete transcript" of a town which has evoked such a monument of loyal devotion.

Familiar Fish: Their Habits and Capture. By Eugene McCarthy. New York: Appletons.

A few weeks' preliminary angling might be supposed to be the best preparation for reviewing the book before us; but game fish, with all their fixity of general characteristics, are yet so prone to idiosyncrasy in detail that one can scarcely read a paragraph about them without recalling a half-dozen exceptions to any assertion which may be made. To avoid endless discussion, then, one may simply say that Mr. McCarthy is evidently well acquainted with the kinds of fish that he describes, and what he has to say as to their habits and capture will hold good whenever the particular fish you are after does not take it into his head to introduce variations. The book has many good suggestions for the beginner, but something on the line of 'The Compleat Angler,' 'Little Rivers,' or 'Fisherman's Luck' will be a better companion to one who has already made some progress in the angler's art. The author places the leaping ouananiche clearly in the lead as a fighter, assigning, however, a good second to the black bass, which the enthusiastic Dr. Henshall pronounces "inch for inch and pound for pound the gamest fish that swims." On the much-argued question as to the relative gameness of the small-mouthed and large-mouthed black bass, he puts himself on the side of the former, but the present writer has a very distinct recollection that the two hardest-fighting bass ever brought into his net, initial strength and endurance both considered, were large-mouthed, weighing respectively three and a quarter and three and a half pounds. Perhaps it may be taken as established, however, that in point of endurance the small-mouthed generally excels. The lead which it sometimes seems to possess in agility may be largely explained by the fact that it fights nearer the surface. With very few exceptions it will leap from the water at least once before it is brought to net, while the large-mouthed variety sticks to the bottom almost as regularly as the pike, and, of course, the more line one has under water, the more will his perception of the movements of the fish be blunted.

The manuscript of Mr. McCarthy's work passed through the hands of President Jordan of Leland Stanford University, which is, of course, an acceptable guarantee of its accuracy on the scientific side. We should like to ask, however, whether it is true that the muskallonge is found in the upper Ohio valley, as asserted on page 146. The opinion (page 148) that, with the triple hook usually attached to the trolling-spoon, the fish is more apt to strike one hook and knock all aside than would be the case with a double hook, seems hardly reasonable. We should prefer to see the triple hook opposed, if at all, in the interest of the fish rather than the angler. And as for the gang of ten hooks, described and recommended on page 149, neither the law nor the ethics of sportsmanship should give it any quarter whatever.

The book which the average angler wants, a reliable source of information on the modern technique of the art, and a delightful companion for the dozy hour as well, is yet to be written.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alden, R. M. The Art of Debate. Henry Holt & Co. $1.
Bradford, C. B. The Brook Trout and the Determined Angler. New York: The E. P. Grow Publishing Co.
Carter, C. F. The Wedding Day in Literature and Art. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.
Dunn, B. A. Battling for Atlanta. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Fricker, Dr. K. The Antarctic Regions. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $3.
Hillegas, H. The Boers in War. Appletons. $1.50.
Hinsdale, Prof. B. A. The Art of Study: A Manual for Teachers and Students of the Science and the Art of Teaching. American Book Co. $1.
Jordan, Prof. D. S., and Kellogg, Prof. V. L. Animal Life: A First Book of Zoölogy. Appletons. $1.20.
Killikelly, Sarah H. Curious Questions in History, Literature, Art, and Social Life. Philadelphia: David McKay. Vol. III. $2.
Lynde, F. A Private Chivalry: A Novel. Appletons. $1.
Mabie, H. W. Essays on Nature and Culture. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.
Nicoll, W. R. The Expositor's Greek Testament. Dodd, Mead & Co. Vol. II. $7.50.
Oberholtzer, E. P. The Referendum in America, Together with Some Chapters on the History of the Initiative and Other Phases of Popular Government in the United States. Scribners. $2.
Padovan, A. I Figli della Gloria. Milano: U. Hoepli.
Quackenbos, J. D. Hypnotism in Mental and Moral Culture. Harpers. $1.25.
Rose, A. McG. Hoch der Kaiser, Myself und Gott. New York: The Abbey Press.
Smith, Charlotte C. Bob Knight's Diary at Poplar Hill School. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50.
Tynan, Katharine. The Handsome Brandons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Vincent, Prof. W. R. Word Studies in the New Testament. Scribners. Vol. IV. $4.

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